

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church



JUNE, 1956



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By George D. Thompson

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Editorials

The 350th Anniversary Celebration of the Settlement of Jamestown, Virginia 1607-1957

"The continuous history of American Society begins with the foundation of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. The continuous history of the Episcopal Church in America begins at the same time, in the same place, and with the same event. As they say in the radio commercials, no other denomination can make that claim."—DR. WILLIAM WILSON MANROSS, "The Church in Virginia," in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XVI, 132.

 N the year 1957, The Episcopal Church, by official action of the General Convention of 1955, and by invitation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, will participate in this 350th Anniversary Celebration. The General Convention authorized the appointment of a Joint Committee, and appropriated \$2,000.00 for its use. The United States Government and the State of Virginia are spending over twenty-three million dollars; the Episcopal Church, two thousand dollars! The Jews have just celebrated the 300th anniversary of their first coming to America, and spent five million dollars in the process! It requires very little imagination to estimate what any one of the other major religious groups in this country would do if they were offered such a golden opportunity. Not one of them would be content with a paltry two thousand dollars with which to make the country aware of its part in such a notable historic event.

Propaganda has three meanings: truth, half-truths, and falsehoods. We are interested only in the first and original meaning—truth and its dissemination. Unfortunately, in the popular mind, the word is more often associated with half-truths and lies. It is to be hoped that one of the by-products of this 350th Anniversary Celebration will be a deeper understanding throughout the United States of the truth concerning

The Religious Motivation in the Founding of Virginia at Jamestown in 1607

One of the perversions of history has been the presentation of the founding of the Virginia colony by historians "as if it were a secular enterprise carried out by freethinkers," in contrast to the founding of the Massachusetts colony as an out and out religious enterprise.

Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard in their notable work, *The Rise of American Civilization* (One Vol. Ed., New York, The Macmillan Company, 1930), pp. 46-48, have corrected this distortion of history in the following passages:

Such were the beginnings of the colony [of Virginia] which historians are accustomed to contrast with Puritan New England as if it were a secular enterprise carried out by free-thinkers. As a matter of fact, if records are to be taken at face value, "Neither the desire for treasure nor even the wish to promote the power of England" was the chief object of the Virginia Company; its heart was set on the glory of God and the propagation of the Christian faith among them that sat in darkness. In their advertisements for colonists the officers of the Company were at pains to indicate that they wished only settlers of correct religious life. "They also made careful provision for the maintenance of the religious habits they prized so highly; churches were built with such elaboration as their means allowed, and the practice of attending the daily services there was carefully enforced. The whole work of colonization was treated as an enterprise in which it was a work of piety to engage and collections were made in parish churches for the college that was planned for the English and the Indians at the Henrico settlement."

Moreover, the House of Burgesses elected by the freeholders of Virginia was in complete accord with the religious professions of the Company and the Crown. It required the church wardens to report for trial "all who led profane and ungodly lives, common swearers and drunkards, adulterers, fornicators, slanderers, tale-bearers; all such as 'do not behave themselves orderly and soberly during divine services,' and all masters and mistresses delinquent in catechising children and 'ignorant persons' placed under their charge."

It is true that the records of Virginia are not sown with Biblical quotations and with references to the wonder-working providence of God, but if statutes, orders and decrees meant anything at all, then Virginia was as pious as Massachusetts and as devout as Plymouth. Indeed, it must not be forgotten that the Pilgrims originally arranged with the Virginia Company to settle on its soil and that the prospect of securing the accession of this new group of recruits was welcomed by leading members of the corporation. The Pilgrims, in spite of their "perversity" in religious faith, were just the kind of sturdy and sober laborers so eagerly sought by the Company, and it was merely an accident in navigation that carried them to land outside the borders of Virginia.

WALTER H. STOWE.

"The Clerical Directory, 1956"

THE appearance every three years of *The Clerical Directory* is always an important event. It, and its predecessors—*Lloyd's*, *Stowe's*—are well nigh indispensable to the historians and biographers dealing with the 20th century. Those who have done research in the history of the Church during the 19th century wish that such a work had been published then.

The reader is referred to previous issues of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for more details: Walter H. Stowe, "Clerical Directories, Past and Present," Vol. X(1941), pp. 390-398; and Gordon Fearey, "Stowe's Clerical Directory, 1950," Vol. XX(1951), pp. 71-72.

A Foreword to *The Clerical Directory, 1956*, reads in part as follows:

"This edition of *The Clerical Directory* is the nineteenth compilation of clergy biographies since the first issue in 1898 . . .

"The title of past editions has variously been *Lloyd's Clerical Directory*, *The American Church Directory*, and *Stowe's Clerical Directory*. With this 1956 issue, the title becomes simply *The Clerical Directory*. The *Directory* is revised every three years, following General Convention . . .

"Photographs of the clergy groups in the several dioceses and districts were included for the first time in the 1953 edition. This innovation was generally acclaimed. Even large groups can be satisfactorily 'shot' if the photographer takes care . . . Included in the present issue are photographs of the clergy staff of The National Council and the faculties of the several Seminaries . . .

"The present edition carries, for the first time, a summary of actions taken at General Convention. Credit for this carefully written summary goes to Mr. Peter Day, the editor of *The Living Church*. Future Conventions will be so recorded by the *Directory* . . .

"A second new feature in this edition is a short essay, by the Very Reverend Darby W. Betts, entitled 'The Church's Evolving Architecture,' accompanied by photographs of fifteen churches of various styles. It is planned that subsequent editions will include photographs of churches built within the preceding triennium . . ."

"It is a work horse of the Church and its leadership."

Copies may be obtained by writing direct to the office of the Fund at 20 Exchange Place, New York City. The price is \$8.00 per copy, including postage.

W. H. S.

Information Wanted Concerning a Great Presbyter of the Church

MR. A. W. Skardon is writing a biography of the greatest presbyter of the Episcopal Church a century ago. His request for information is as follows:

"I am writing a biography of the Rev. William Augustus Muhlenberg, who was born in Philadelphia in 1796 and died in New York in 1877. He was assistant minister of the United Parishes of Christ, St. Peter's, and St. James' in Philadelphia, and later associate rector of St. James', Lancaster, Pa. He was the founder of several Church institutions, including the Flushing Institute and St. Paul's College on Long Island; The Church of the Holy Communion, and St. Luke's Hospital, in New York City; and the Society of St. Johnland on Long Island. He also initiated the "Memorial Movement" for Church unity.

"If any of your readers have information concerning Dr. Muhlenberg, I would appreciate hearing from them. My address: International House, 500 Riverside Drive, New York, 27, N. Y.

A. W. SKARDON, JR."



[See below, p. 208, "A Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Salute from a Woman Scholar."]

The Anglican Church in North Carolina

By Spencer Ervin*

HE division of the Carolina territory into two colonies, in tacit recognition of the fact that the two early centers of settlement were widely separated both by distance and circumstances, was not formally accomplished until 1720, when South Carolina was made a royal colony under Francis Nicholson as first governor. The original plan did not contemplate a division.

The Carolinas

In 1663, Charles II granted to eight men the territory between the 36th and 31st parallels of north latitude, extending westward to the "south seas." A second grant, in 1665, extended the northern boundary one-half a degree to north latitude 30° 30', approximately the southern boundary of Virginia as fixed in 1728, and southward to one hundred miles below the present line between Georgia and Florida. The grants gave the proprietors the county palatine powers of the bishop of Durham, including the patronage of churches and chapels, to be consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England, and, also like the grant to the proprietor of Maryland, provided for legislation by and with the consent of freemen or freeholders, subject to disallowance by the proprietors, and permitted the proprietors to concede religious toleration. An earlier grant of the same area as that of 1663 to Sir Robert Heath was vacated as never acted upon.¹

Three of the grantees were ministers of state: Monk, the former Puritan general, now named duke of Albemarle; Ashley Cooper, later

*Mr. Ervin is a lawyer, an active churchman of the diocese of Pennsylvania, and secretary of the Church Historical Society. His essay, "The Established Church of Colonial Maryland," was published in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XXIV (1955), 232-292.—Editor's note.

¹For the texts of the charters, see *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (hereinafter abbreviated as C.R.N.C.), 1:20-33 (reprinted from R.S.N.C. II, 437); and 102-114 (reprinted from R.S.N.C. II, 1). There is a good summary of these, and of the Fundamental Constitutions, in Edward McCready, Jr., *Historical Sketch of South Carolina*, pp. 23-25.

earl of Shaftesbury; Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon. Three were courtiers who had shared the exile of the king: the earl of Craven, Sir George Carteret, and John, Lord Berkeley. The remaining two were Sir William Berkeley, brother of John, earlier, and now soon again, governor of Virginia, and Sir John Colleton, a planter of Barbadoes.

In 1669, the proprietors issued an absurd Fundamental Constitutions, creating an hereditary nobility, in grades, based upon the ownership of large tracts of land, and commoners of two grades, land-holders of smaller tracts. The frame of government provided was as artificial as the scheme of nobility. Some features of it were introduced, and became a source of contest between the proprietors and the popular assemblies. But notwithstanding concessions by way of successive revisions, the Constitutions were never much more than a sand-bar in the path of the river of democratic progress.

About 1660, and therefore some three years prior to the first grant, colonists from Virginia settled on the Chowan River, which flows south into the western end of Albemarle Sound, opposite the mouth of the Roanoke, which flows into the Sound from the west and southwest. Their settlements, known as Albemarle, were the beginning of North Carolina. The settlement which developed into South Carolina was made, after earlier failures, in 1670, at Charles Town (Charleston), first at one site, and ten years later, on a site which proved permanent, between the Ashley and Cooper (Ashley Cooper, Lord Shaftesbury) Rivers. In 1719, the southern colonists, exasperated by the failure of the proprietors to give them adequate aid against Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Indians, formed a revolutionary government, and invited the government of England to take possession of the colony. It did so in 1720, and in 1721 sent Francis Nicholson as first royal governor. In 1729, the English government acquired the shares of seven of the eight groups of proprietary heirs, and revoked the proprietary charters. Proprietary rule continued in the northern colony until 1729, although from 1719 the crown was in partial control.

Physical Features of North Carolina

The northern boundary of North Carolina, separating it from the Virginia colony, was settled in 1728 by commissioners from the two colonies acting under royal authority. It was "an attempt to run a line between certain natural objects regardless of their coincidence or

lack of coincidence with the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$, and agreed upon as a compromise by Governors Eden and Spottswood."²

The southern boundary, separating the two Carolinas, remained unsettled throughout the colonial period, and until 1815, due in part to a failure to differentiate, in official papers, between Cape Fear and the Cape Fear River. The final boundary was a compromise between the line of the Santee River, long the *de facto* boundary, and that of the Cape Fear River.³

The western boundary, as generally in colonial grants, was completely vague: "and to the west as far as the south seas." It was fixed in 1790 by the cession to the national government of the area which now forms the state of Tennessee.

A little less than five-tenths of the area of the present state of North Carolina lies within the flat, and sometimes swampy, coastal plain; a little less than four-tenths in the rolling Piedmont plateau; and somewhat more than one-tenth in the mountainous Appalachian region. The coastal plain however comprises two distinct regions: the tide-water area and the coastal plain proper.⁴ An important physical element is the actual coast-line, bordered by a chain of long, narrow, constantly shifting sand dunes, which make access to the mainland by boat difficult and dangerous, a circumstance which determined that immigration would be by land and vitally affected trade.⁵ Two important sounds indent the northern half of the coast line: Albemarle Sound extends some 60 miles inland, but only some fifteen along the coast; Pamlico, on the other hand, connected with Albemarle by a narrow passage, borders the seacoast for some 150 miles, but extends inland an average of only twenty.

²C.R.N.C. 1:xxii-xxiv. editorial introduction. See also the introductions in 2:vi; 4:xiii. For the source documents giving the negotiations, orders, and surveyors' proceedings, see *ibid.*, 1: 339-340, 505-516, 525-526, 703-704, 716; 2:222-223, 679-681, 730-757, 776-815; 3:1 and 20-24.

³As to the confusion between Cape Fear and the Cape Fear River, see C.R.N.C. 2:394-396, 418-420; 6:609-610. For the long dispute, see the editorial introductions in *ibid.*, 2:vii-viii; 4:viii; 5:xxxv-xxxix; 9:xix-xx, and the documents in *ibid.*, 3:115, 125; 6, Pt. 2:609-611, 775-796; 7:142, 870-880; 8:611-612; 9:695.

⁴Hobbs, *North Carolina, Economic and Social* (1930), 1.

⁵See C.R.N.C. 1:663, Robert Holden to the Lords of Trade, May 21, 1707: the colony has "bar'd Inlets into it which spoyles the trade of it and none but small vessels from New England and Bermudas trades there. . ." See also *ibid.*, 2:394-396.

As to the coast-line, see, further, Hobbs, *North Carolina, Economic and Social* (1930), 57-58.

Flowing into Albemarle Sound at its western extremity are the Chowan River from the north and the Roanoke from the west and northwest, each having its source in Virginia. South of the Roanoke is the Tar-Pamlico, flowing into Pamlico Sound, and the more important Neuse, also flowing from northwest and west into the Sound near its southern end. Next comes the Cape Fear River, flowing south by east to enter the sea at the Cape of the same name, and the Pedee, paralleling it some twenty-five miles to the south and entering the sea well below the boundary with South Carolina. These rivers, navigable both to settlement and to the missionaries obliged to cross and recross almost to the border of the Piedmont plateau, were serious obstacles to them.

The climate, warmly temperate; the rainfall, abundant and widely distributed; the abundance of wild game, and of fish and shellfish; and the forests of pine and hardwoods, provided material resources of importance to settlers. The products of the colony are listed in contemporary documents as rice, beans, peas, Indian corn, wheat, beef, pork, hides and skins, lumber, tar, pitch and turpentine, flax, cotton, indigo, and tobacco.⁶

The Settlers. Population Estimates

As already indicated, the nucleus of the future North Carolina was the settlement made at Albemarle, near the Virginia boundary, by colonists from Virginia. Later settlers came from both north and south, either after a residence of some duration in another colony, or by sea to some safe port outside the colony, and thence by land to their destination within it.

The sources of population and their relative proportions were varied. Hobbs gives them as English, a little more than one-third; Scotch, about one-third; Germans, less than one-ninth; Negroes, about one-fourth; and French, Swiss, Welsh, in inconsiderable fractions; Indians are not reckoned. But Hobbs' fractions add up to more than an integer; moreover he does not distinguish between Scotch Highlanders and the Scotch-Irish: it is the latter group which formed an important element.⁷

The sources for estimates of the total population at any given time vary, and are not numerous. Some of them are flat estimates; some,

⁶See C.R.N.C. 1:663; 2:394-396; 6:605-623, and the editorial introductions in 3:xiii ff. and 8:xlvi-xlviii.

⁷*North Carolina*, 55.

statements of the number of titheables. The estimates of historians also vary. Even the capable editors of the Colonial Records are guilty of giving for the same year, 1765, a figure of 125,000 in one place and 220,000 in another.⁸ An English contemporary, who does not cite the local source, states that in 1696 there were in the colony but 60 or 70 scattered families.⁹ In 1775, there may have been 150,000 souls, or there may have been double that number.¹⁰ Hobbs estimates 130,000 for 1760, but does not give his sources.¹¹ But for our purposes, these variances are not too important.

Government

The eight proprietaries set up a form of government which, with variations to be mentioned, continued in effect when the crown took over the colony in 1729, and thereafter. The proprietaries were represented by a governor or a deputy-governor, and by a council consisting at first (1663-1670) of from six to twelve members appointed by the governor; then (1670-1691) of ten members, five of them chosen by the lower house (the Assembly), and five by the proprietaries severally, until 1718, and then by the governor as agent for the proprietaries jointly.

The freemen of the colony (referred to in the first charter and in proprietary instructions to governors indifferently as freemen and free-holders, although these terms are distinct) voted in county precincts, or in towns, for representatives to constitute (at first with five proprietary nominees) the Assembly or lower house. The Council and Assembly, proceeding separately, made laws subject to a veto by the governor, who had a further powerful, and dangerous, control through his right to prorogue or dissolve; and subject further to disallowance by the proprietaries at the end of eighteen months, or, later, two years.¹²

When the crown took over, it appointed the governor and, usually on his recommendation however, the members of his Council. The

⁸C.R.N.C. 5:xxxix, and 8:xlv.

⁹Randolph, Att'y General, to Comm'r's of H. M. Customs, in C.R.N.C. 1:467.

¹⁰Cf. Woodman's account of the colony in 1766, in C.R.N.C. 7:283, giving 119,000 for that year, with the editors' estimate for 1775, based on tax data, in *ibid.*, 10:v.

¹¹*North Carolina*, 55.

¹²More accurately, the laws held good for only eighteen months or two years unless approved by the proprietaries. For the facts in this and the next preceding paragraph, see the First Charter, in C.R.N.C. 1:20 ff.; and the other documents printed in *ibid.*, 1:162, 165, 181, 235, 333, 378, 875-876; 2:306; also, the editorial introductions in 2:vi and 3:xiii; and further, Raper, *North Carolina* (1904), 1-26.

method of selecting Burgesses was not altered, but the franchise was. The freemen, white males of 21 years, who from at least 1718, by colonial legislation, had been allowed to vote if they had been residents and taxpayers for one year next preceding the election, lost the right to the more restricted class of freeholders, owners of land by deed or patent.¹³

Until 1691, North Carolina (at first consisting only of the settlement at Albemarle) had its own governor. From 1691 to 1711, it was nominally under a governor appointed for both the Carolinas, with his seat at Charles Town, who was represented in the north by a deputy. From 1711 onward, whether under the proprietaries or the crown, the colony again had its own governor. However, there were intervals, frequent under the proprietaries and occasional under the crown, when, because of a vacancy due to civil strife or to delay by the appointing power, the president of the Council served *ex officio* as the governor.¹⁴

The colony never enjoyed really good government, either general or local, although there were periods when it was prosperous notwithstanding. The judicial system suffered from the lack of trained lawyers and of judicial tradition, and was often corrupt as well as dilatory. There was no currency save so-called proclamation money, issued from time to time for the expenses of government, and accepted only at a varying discount, or refused altogether in private transactions, and even this money was scarce. The home government, at the instance of its merchants, consistently refused the requests of successive governors and legislatures for permission to emit a regular currency. The colony's trade was so hampered by the lack of ports that its inhabitants were at the mercy of the Virginians, who traded overland, and of the New Englanders, who transshipped in the north, into shallow vessels, for re-sale in North Carolina, the commodities they imported.

The principal form of taxation was a poll tax, used both for the expenses of the general government and for the support of the "established" Church in the parishes. It was collected and, at least in the case of the parish levies, frequently embezzled by the sheriffs. The absence of a currency, obliging the taxpayer to make payment in commodities,¹⁵ must have made this tax oppressive.

¹³For a more detailed account, see McKinley, *The Suffrage Franchise* (1905), 92, 94-95, 100-111. For some of the documents, see C.R.N.C. 1:165 ff., 181 ff.; 2:213 ff.; 3:207 ff.; 8:502 ff. Cf. Ashe: *Hist. N.C.*, 234-235.

¹⁴See Raper, *North Carolina*, 4-5; and Ashe, *History of N. C.* (1908), I:52-53. It seems hardly worth while to cite the many passages in the Colonial Records formally supporting their statements.

¹⁵Cf. C.R.N.C. 1:715: ". . . there is no money; every one buys and pays with their commodities." (Missionary Gordon to Sec. S.P.G., May 13, 1709).

Restrictions on the purchase of land, arbitrarily announced from time to time; disputes as to the amount of the quit-rent payable, and delays and frauds in issuing patents, retarded settlement and provoked unrest. In particular, the administration by the unsupervised agents of Lord Granville, to whom had been set off in the north of the colony a huge tract as his one-eighth proprietary share when he refused to join the other proprietary heirs or originals in accepting a cash payment offered by the British government, was oppressive and scandalous.

In 1677, there was a rebellion caused by a British export tax on the tobacco of the colony, and in 1708-1711 an entire absence of government, followed in 1711 by a civil war. In October 1711, the Tuscarora Indians rose, and within two hours despatched some 130 settlers. A terrible war followed, which did not end until the decisive defeat of the Indians by the aid of South Carolina forces in March 1713. From 1768 to 1771, the so-called Regulators in the western part of the colony arose in arms against extortion by county officials and other grievances. They were cruelly put down in what was virtually another civil war, without concession of the reforms for which they justifiably fought.

There was almost continual friction in the agencies of central government: within the House of Burgesses, over ecclesiastical policy and representation; between the burgesses on the one hand, and the governor and council on the other; between council and governor; between legislature and governor, and the crown, over disallowance of legislation, currency, and other matters. There was friction both in the general government and locally between Anglicans, and the Quakers, Baptists, Presbyterians and others. The Anglican "establishment" was always precarious.

Rivers and swamps and lack of roads, ferries and bridges made travel onerous.

It was against this background that the missionary clergy, sent out by the S.P.G., carried on their labors.¹⁶

¹⁶The following references, to the Colonial Records except where otherwise stated, may be consulted for the matters mentioned in this summary.

JUSTICE: Raper, *North Carolina*, 148-167; C.R.N.C. 2:157-158, 161-163, 613-615; 3:xiii-xiv (ed. intro.), 150; 6:623; 7:473-483.

CURRENCY: 1:715; 2:iv-v (ed. intro.) 4:754-755, 878, 7:493-496, 570, 678-679, 681-683, 709; 8:xlili (ed. intro.), 11-12, 17-18; 9:xiii-xiv (ed. intro.); Raper, *North Carolina*, 125-145.

TRADE DIFFICULTIES: 1:242-243, 663; 2:xii, (ed. intro.), 396, 419, 424-425; 3:xv-xvii (ed. intro.); 4:169-173.

TAXATION: Raper, *North Carolina*, 146-147.

SHERIFF'S PECULATIONS: 6:990-991, 994-995, 1050-1053; 7:265, 497, 551-552, 570, 694.

LAND PURCHASE DIFFICULTIES: 1:xi (ed. intro.), 247-248; 2:314, 528-530; 3:150, 354, 479; 4:286-291.

Charter and Other Religious Provisions

We turn now to the melancholy story of the effort to "establish" Anglicanism: that is, to support it by tax funds and privileges. And first, as to the regulation of religious matters in the two charters, the "Fundamental Constitutions," declarations by the proprietaries, and their instructions to proprietary governors, and royal instructions to governors.

Paragraph third of the first charter grants to the proprietaries "the patronage and advowsons of all the churches and chappels, which as Christian religion shall increase within the country.....shall happen hereafter to be erected, together with license and power to build and found churches, chappels and oratories, in convenient and fit places,.....and to cause them to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our kingdom of England.....".

Paragraph 18th states:

And because it may happen that some of the people and inhabitants of the said province, cannot in their private opinions conform to the publick exercise of religion according to the liturgy, form and ceremonies of the Church of England, or take and subscribe the oaths and articles made and established in that behalf,

the proprietaries are given "license, liberty and authority" to grant to nonconforming inhabitants "such indulgences and dispensations in that behalf" as they may think reasonable, provided that the persons dispensed be loyal and do not disturb the peace, or the worship (of the Church of England). The second charter repeats the substance of these provisions.

LORD GRANVILLE'S LANDS. 4:x (ed. intro.), 655-663; 5:lv-lvi (ed. intro.), 1016-1017; 9:48.

REBELLION OF 1677: 1:248-253, 255-261, 262-270, 272-301, 303-323, 325-333.
INTERREGNUM OF 1708-1711 AND CIVIL WAR OF 1711: 1:xxvii-xxix (ed. intro.), 696-699, 709-710, 762-763, 776-807.

INDIAN WAR, 1711-1713: 1:xxx-xxxvi (ed. intro.), 810-829, 873-880, 921-922; 2:iv (ed. intro.), 39-41; 1:1-liv (ed. intro.).

REGULATOR'S REBELLION: 1768-1771: 7:iii-xxxiii (ed. intro.); 8:iii-xxxix (ed. intro.), 551-553, 635-639; 9:330.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT FRICTION: 1:709-710, 875-876; 2:559; 3:v-vi (ed. intro.), 347-348, 574-576; 4:xviii-xx (ed. intro.), 924; 5:v-viii (ed. intro.), 405-407; 6:iii, xxix (ed. intro.). And see the Journals of the two Houses, and the addresses of the governors, almost *passim* in the first ten volumes of the Records.

ANGLICANS AND SECTARIANS: *see* the text further on.

DIFFICULTIES OF TRAVEL: *see* the text further on.

The Fundamental Constitutions,¹⁷ as Channing points out,¹⁸ were never law in the colony. However, they may be summarized here as expressing the minds of the proprietaries on religious concerns. They bar atheists; provide that the Church of England alone is to receive public maintenance "by grant of parliament," that is, by local legislation; and grant toleration to any persons who will group themselves into "a church or profession." No one is to "disturb, molest, or persecute another for his speculative opinions in religion, or his way of worship."

"A Declaration and Proposals to All That Will Plant in Carolina," put out by the proprietaries under date of 25th August 1663,¹⁹ announces:

We will grant, in as ample a manner as the undertakers shall desire, freedom and liberty of conscience in all religious or spiritual things . . .

"The Concession and Agreement of the Lords Proprietors to and with the Adventurers of the Island of Barbados and their Associates,"²⁰ promises that no person shall be called in question

for any differences in opinion or practice in matters of religious concernment whoe do not actually disturb the civill Peace but that all and every such person and persons may from time to time and at all times freely and fully have and enjoye his and their judgments and contiences in matters of religion throughout all the sd. Province they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly and not using this liberty to Lycentiousness nor to the Civill Injury, or outward disturbance of others.

It adds that the proprietaries' right of patronage is not to be used to infringe this concession. But the General Assembly of each county may

constitute and appoint such and soe many Ministers or preachers as they shall think fitt, and to establish their maintenance Giving Liberty besides to any person or persons to keep and maintayne wt. preachers or Ministers they please.

¹⁷Text in C.R.N.C. 1:187 ff. See also the much shorter form in *ibid.*, 2:852 ff., with the notation that it is being sent to Carolina. For a good review, with excerpts and discussion, see Joseph Blount Cheshire, "The Fundamental Constitutions . . ." in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, I(1932), 204ff.

¹⁸*Hist. U. S.*, II:20.

¹⁹Printed in C.R.N.C. 1:43 ff.

²⁰No date. Printed in C.R.N.C. 1:79 ff. The adventurers referred to were those whom the proprietors induced in 1669 to emigrate from the Barbadoes. After many mishaps, they settled around Charleston harbor. See Channing, *Hist. U. S.*, II:20-23.

In what was apparently a broadside published in England at an early date,²¹ notice is given "to all ingenious and industrious persons" of the existence of the "New Plantation begun 2 years since," and that

there is full and free liberty of contience granted that those that are truly contentious may have liberty to worship God according to their owne way provided they behave themselves orderly towards the Civil Government.

And in "A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina.....,"²² and in the "Instructions for our Governor of the County of Albemarle in the Province of Carolina,"²³ the same policy is declared.

The royal instructions to governors, from 1730 on, were:²⁴

God to be served, the Book of Common Prayer read each Sunday and Holy Day, and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England.

Churches already built to be kept in order and more built as the province developed.

A rectory and a glebe to be provided for each minister.

Ministers not to be preferred without a certificate from the bishop of London as to their conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England and possession of a good character.

Ministers giving scandal to be removed by use of "the proper and usual means." Vacancies to be supplied "in such manner as we have directed."

Ministers to be members of vestries.

The governor to inquire whether any minister officiating in the province lacks due orders and to report such cases to the bishop of London.

The table of permitted marriages to be hung up in every "orthodox church," and observed, and a law to be obtained requiring its observance.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop of London to be encouraged save as to collating to benefices, granting marriage licenses, and probate of wills, reserved to the governor. (From 1733 to 1754 the reservation clause was omitted).

Liberty of conscience to exist for all but papists provided they are peaceable and give no offence or scandal to the government.

If we consider these documents as a whole, their effect is seen to be as follows:

²¹Printed in C.R.N.C. 1:53 ff. No date.

²²No date. Printed under the date, 1667, in C.R.N.C. 1:155 ff.

²³No date. Printed in C.R.N.C. 1:165 ff.

²⁴In Labaree, *Royal Instructions*, II:482-494. As given in my text, they have been condensed from the originals.

The charters imply that any churches which the proprietaries may build must be used for the worship of the Church of England, but do not oblige them to build any. Royal instructions to governors require the governor to see to it that Church of England services are held every Sunday; that churches be built and kept in order; that parsonages and glebes be provided; that clergy must have due orders and the bishop of London's certificate. But no one, governor or any other person, is given any funds, or directed to any means save local legislation for obtaining them, with which to carry out what is ordered. Everything depended upon the local population, and especially upon the local legislature. As Weeks says:²⁵ the proprietors

had done nothing beyond the theoretical establishment of a church and had then abandoned the colony in a way that was thoroughly characteristic of all their actions when their pecuniary interests were not at stake.

The official Church at home, and the home government, assumed no responsibility for financing the Church in the colony. It was left to the voluntary S.P.G. to fill the gap in part by recruiting and obtaining the commissioning of clergy, transporting them to the colony, and affording them partial, and sometimes complete, support by allowances, but it could not be expected, out of its slender funds, to build or maintain churches and parsonages and provide glebes.

Religious Affiliations of the Colonists

The religious composition of the population becomes, therefore, of importance. What was it? Of course the question presents itself anew for each decade or less: immigration into the colony was more or less continuous. Original sources of information are official statements or figures; the reports of missionaries; occasional petitions from parishes or settlements. In addition are the guesses of historians.

Taking the historians first, Weeks says:²⁶ "From all the accounts we have of the religious inclinations of the colonists, a majority of them were of the Church of England." He is speaking of the period 1711-1728. Andrews, speaking of the year 1701,²⁷ mentions "the grow-

²⁵*The Religious Development in the Province of North Carolina.* J.H.U. Studies, X, Nos. v and vi (1892), p. 27.

²⁶*Church and State in North Carolina,* J.H.U. Studies XI, Nos. v and vi, (1893), 12. The period of which he is speaking appears at p. 9.

²⁷*Colonial Period,* III:260.

ing influence of the Quakers in a colony where the Anglicans were in the majority." Manross says:

It is probable that the dissenters were always in a majority in North Carolina, though the proportion of Churchmen in the population seems to have been on the increase. Governor Tryon, when he came over in 1765, thought the supporters of the Church were in the majority, but this is unlikely, though they probably did include most of the wealthier planters.²⁸

Addison writes:

Tryon's effective interest in the Church resulted in increasing the number of ministers from five to eighteen. The Episcopalians, however, remained a minority group; for the Dissenters had always outnumbered them, and there were now [1765-1771, Tryon's governorship] added to the numerous Baptists and Quakers a growing body of Methodists, and in the western part of the colony Presbyterians and Lutherans.²⁹

The late Bishop Cheshire of North Carolina, a student of the history of the Church in his state, wrote:

And there was never a time in our colonial history when the Church did not command the support of a majority of the people of the Province, when any measure in its favor was brought before them.^{29-a}

And again:

Yet, with all their ignorance and carelessness, there was never a time from 1701 to 1776 when the people of North Carolina did not persist in asserting through their legislative assemblies that the Church of the mother country was the Church of the Province.^{29-b}

Apart from the estimate by Governor Tryon which Manross finds too favorable, the indications in the original sources are either too indefinite or too restricted to be of real service. As instances of the first kind may be mentioned the statement of Governor Eden of 1716, in a letter to the S.P.G.³⁰ that the people "here," i. e. in the colony, are as willing as any on the continent to contribute toward the subsistence of ministers; or the report of missionary Hall of 1749,³¹ that riding

²⁸*Hist. Am. Ep. Ch.* (1950), 90. The letter of Governor Tryon, to which he refers, is printed in C.R.N.C., 7:102-104.

²⁹*The Episcopal Church in the U. S.* (1951), 38.

^{29-a}Blount, *op. cit.*, in *Hist. Mag.*, I(1932), 212-213.

^{29-b}*Sketches of Ch. Hist. in N. C.* (1892), 56.

³⁰C. R. N. C. 2:228.

³¹*Ibid.*, 4:925.

about 200 miles through the northern part of his mission he found the congregations numerous and well-behaved.

Under the latter head, we have the statement of the Rev. Mr. Adams in 1709,³² that in Pasquotank precinct (county) there are 1332 souls, of whom 900 profess themselves of the Church of England, about eleven profess no religion, 210 are Quakers, and 211 Negroes; that of the Rev. James Moir of 1742,³³ that in his mission, centered on Wilmington, there are about 3,000 inhabitants, of whom two-thirds are Negroes. Of the whites, he takes one-half to be dissenters, but it is impossible to know the number of inhabitants or their faiths; later the same year, he states³⁴ that of the present vestry a majority are "professed Dissenters." In 1776, missionary Morton reports that the inhabitants of Mecklenburg (county) are "in general greatly averse to the Church of England."³⁵ From Rowan county in 1769, more than 200 members of the Church of England petition the governor and assembly for the appointment of a vestry there, since the dissenters have more votes than they.³⁶ An official report of 1767 forwarded by Governor Tryon in 1769 shows that of thirty counties, six are too poor and one too unsettled to support a minister; nine have Church of England clergy; eleven others could support one; three are predominantly Presbyterian.³⁷ In 1770, the Rev. Mr. Drage writes Governor Tryon that there are above 5,000 Church of England people in St. Luke's parish, Rowan county, and that the dissenters are not one-fourth of the population. But in the same year he mentions that "the whole back frontier of America" is chiefly settled by sectaries.³⁸ In 1771, the Presbyterians are reported by Governor Tryon to the home government to form "the strongest party" in the House of Burgesses.³⁹

The editors of the Colonial Records of North Carolina have been unable to arrive at anything more definite than the following:⁴⁰

The Church of England was, indeed, the "established" church in the eye of the law, and the Province was divided into parishes, which had the right of taxation to support ministers, build churches and parsonages and buy glebe lands. As a

³²C.R.N.C. 1:720.

³³*Ibid.*, 4:605-606.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 4:607.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 7:252-253.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 8:154-155.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 7:540-541; 8:31-32. And see, 7:457.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 8:208; (*see also* his similar estimate of 1771 in 8:502); 8:180.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 8:527.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 6:xxix.

matter of fact, however, that denomination by no means met with universal acceptance among the people, of whom the "Dissenters," as they were called, of various denominations, constituted a very large proportion. In the Middle and Western portions of the State, during the Dobbs administration [1754-1765], the Presbyterians were largely in the ascendant, and next to them the Lutherans and German Reformed. In many parts of the State, too, the Baptists were to be found in large numbers. In the whole Province there were not more than a half dozen ministers of the Church of England [this was before Tryon much increased the number] though there were some twenty-nine parishes, each county being a parish. And doubtless that Church would not have been established in name even, had it not been that a number of people, regardless of denominational preference, thought that the establishment by law of some Protestant denomination was more important than the shades of its creed.

It may be noted, in concluding this subject, that there probably were many who professed no religion at all.⁴¹

Legislation for "Establishment"

Such being the Anglican strength, or lack of it, in the colony, so far as estimated, we pass now to the effort to "establish" Anglican worship by law. At the outset, it is desirable to differentiate between establishment in England and in the colonies. The Church of England was and is termed "established," not because it received or receives monetary aid from the state in the form of payment of the salaries of its clergy, provision of new or maintenance of existing ecclesiastical buildings, or in any other manner, but solely because it is regulated by the secular law of England. "The phrase is first used in Canon 3 of 1603: 'The Church of England by Law established under the King's Majesty.'"⁴² Establishment in the colonies, where it took place, meant not only regulation by the secular government, but subvention as well.

⁴¹See the Rev. Mr. Reed to S.P.G. June 26, 1760, from New Bern, C.R.N.C. 6:265: "there are too many that can hardly be said to be members of any Christian society . . ."

⁴²Gordon Crosse in Ollard, Crosse & Bond, eds.: *A Dictionary of English Church History*, 3rd ed., (1948), 214. See this brief essay and the valuable description in the Introduction to Cecilia M. Ady: *The English Church (&c.)*, 9-15, (London 1940).

That the Church of England is supported by the state is a widespread and persistent error. It is nearer the truth to say that it has been plundered, considering the seizure by Henry VIII of monastic appropriations of tithes; the thievery under Edward VI; and the Tithe Commutation Acts.

The first act to establish the Anglican Church was enacted November 12, 1701.⁴² Its text has not survived, but it provided at least for the erection of churches and the maintenance of the clergy.⁴³ But the proprietors, to whom, as required, this act had been submitted for approval,⁴⁴ disallowed it on the ground that the salary of thirty pounds annum provided was too low.⁴⁵ Weeks comments:⁴⁶ "In rejecting this act the Proprietors were demanding more of the colonists for their clergy than was given to the same class of men in England." But this statement seems to fail to take account of colonial currency difficulties and colonial prices. The rejection was nevertheless ill-advised because of the situation in the North Carolina Assembly, in which the Quakers were at times in a majority.⁴⁷

The disallowed Act of 1701 was followed in late 1704 or early 1705 by an act adopted by a margin of only one or two votes in the Burgesses, the text of which also has not survived but is thus described in a contemporary letter:⁴⁸

. . . twelve vestrymen are to be chosen in every precinct [county] who have power to build a church in each, and to raise money from the inhabitants for that purpose, with a sum not exceeding thirty pounds for a minister; whom they have likewise (by that act) power, not only to disapprove, but displace, if they see cause. . .

South Carolina had enacted on May 6, 1704, a Conformity Act requiring members of the lower house of legislature to communicate, or else make a declaration of conformity, to be qualified for a seat; and on November 4 of the same year, an Establishment Act, one provision of which gave a commission of twenty laymen power, on complaint by a vestry, to remove clergymen from their parishes after a hearing.

⁴²The Vestry Book of St. Paul's Parish, Chowan, recording a vestry meeting of December 15, 1701, recites it as called "in obedience to an act of Assembly made November the 12th, 1701": C.R.N.C., 1:543.

⁴³Henderson Walker, president of the Council (and acting governor) to the Bishop of London, October 21, 1703: C.R.N.C., 1:572.

⁴⁴C.R.N.C., 1:544, 572.

⁴⁵C.R.N.C., 1:601.

⁴⁶In *The Religious Development*, (&c), J.H.U. Studies X, Nos. v and vi, n. 1 p. 38.

⁴⁷C.R.N.C. 1:572: Act of 1701 obtained only "with a great deal of care and management," and a Quaker majority certain in Assembly of November 1703.

⁴⁸Rev. William Gordon to S.P.G., May 13, 1709, C.R.N.C., 1:709.

Weeks is of opinion that the North Carolina Act of 1704 or 1705 was "closely akin to that in South Carolina."⁵⁰

The South Carolina Acts were disallowed June 10, 1706, by the Queen in Council, the Conformity Act on the ground of its repugnance to the laws of England, which by then included the Toleration Act of 1689, and as tending to depopulate the province; the Establishment Act on the ground that the provision for ousting clergy was not warranted by the charter, and was contrary to the laws of England and to the constitution of the Church.⁵¹ We may suppose that the North Carolina Act also fell, although there appears to be no record of its disallowance.⁵²

The next Church Act was one of 1711, known to us only through a letter of missionary John Urmston to the S.P.G.⁵³ After mentioning the arrival of Hyde as governor [January 1711], he says:

. . . an Assembly was called with much difficulty we had the majority . . . [the Assembly] was a strange mixture of men of various opinions and inclinations a few Churchmen many Presbyterians Independents but most anythingarians . . . all conspired to act answerable to the desire of the president and Council. they made a very good and proper Act . . . which was to the effect that the worship of God and our most holy religion as by law established in England should be put in practice here in all particulars as far forth as is compatible with the circumstances of the people a select Vestry of 12 men in every precinct or parish was thereby appointed all the Burgesses were made members thereof These bound in a penalty to meet in their several parishes on a certain day within 6 weeks after the publication of the Act to chose [sic] Churchwardens give them power to buy a Glebe build a Church or Churches as there was occasion houses for ministers provide a sufficient maintenance for them and to use their utmost en-

⁵⁰Op. cit. *supra*, Notes 47, 48. He does not say which South Carolina Act the North Carolina one resembled. The S. C. Acts are in S. C. Statutes at Large 2:232 and 236, reprinted in C.R.N.C. 2:863 and 867. The editors of C.R.N.C. maintain (C.R.N.C. 1:xxv ff.) that there was no North Carolina Act of 1704 or 1705 and that missionary Gordon's letter of 1709 refers to the Act of 1701. But Weeks' argument seems conclusive.

Bishop Cheshire seems to agree with the editors of the Records; see *Sketches* . . . pp. 54-55.

⁵¹C.R.N.C., 1:634-640 and 642-644.

⁵²Weeks, in *Church and State in North Carolina*, J.H.U. Studies XI, Nos. v and vi, 13, says that it was "evidently repealed." (The term *repeal* is used contemporaneously to include a disallowance. See e.g., C.R.N.C. 5:117).

⁵³July 11, 1711, C.R.N.C., 1:768-769. The act is not mentioned by Davis or Iredell. Weeks citing Urmston, mentions it: J.H.U. Studies X, Nos. v and vi, 60-61.

deavours to provide that every parish might be supplied with a Clergyman approved of [sic] allowed by the Lord Bishop of London.

He continues with a description of vestry organization meetings:

[He] thought it might not be improper to be present at their Vestries at [sic] the first that met were very much disordered with drink they quarrelled and could scarce be kept from fighting broke up without doing anything having first agreed when to meet again when the day came there only five met we pitched upon another day then came but two in another precinct The Vestry met at an Ordinary where rum was the chief of their business they were most of 'em hot headed very averse to go upon business with much ado I prevailed with them to chose [sic] two Churchwardens resolve upon building a Church which is very much wanted and tis a shame to be without one since the Quakers have three meeting houses in that and as many in the next precinct whereas we have neither Church nor Chapel in 3 of the precincts and those two we have in Chowan and Perquimans were never finished ready to drop down that in the former precinct hath neither floor nor seats only a few loose benches upon the sand the Key being lost the door stood open ever since I came into the Country. All the Hogs and Cattle flee thither for shade in the summer and warmth in Winter.....

The First Extant Church Act

In 1715, we have the first Church Act of which the text has survived: "An Act Establishing the Church and Appointing Select Vestrys."⁵⁴ It commences with a justification:

The Province of North Carolina being a member of the Kingdom of Great Britain; and the Church of England being appointed by the charter from the Crown to be the only Established church to have Public encouragement in it: Wee, therefore, to express our gratitude to the Rtt. Honble the Society for promoting the Christian Religion in Foreign parts, and their Zeal for the building of Churches and Chappels & maintenance of the Clergy as the circumstances of this Government will admit, Do pray that it may be enacted, And

Be it Enacted by his Excellency the Palatine &c.

The act then sets up and delimits nine parishes, some of them divisions of precincts, some of them coextensive with these, and one to

⁵⁴Reprinted in C.R.N.C., 2:207-213 from MSS. Revisal of 1715.

include "all the Southern settlements" (not yet organized into precincts), to constitute one parish "until further Division be made." As settlements progressed and new precincts (counties)⁵⁵ were organized and existing ones became more populous, additional parishes were created, sometimes by subdivision.

For each of the nine parishes delimited in 1715, a vestry of twelve persons is named. Vacancies in it are to be filled by the vestry, and, if it fails to act, then by the incumbent, or if there be no incumbent, by the governor. Vestrymen must take oath that it is not lawful to take up arms against the king, and another not to "apugne" the liturgy of the Church of England. The vestrymen choose by majority vote two of their number as wardens to serve "one year and no longer unless he or they shall be willing." Upon the retirement of the first two wardens, the office is to rotate until all the vestrymen shall have served in it. There is a penalty for failure to serve as warden, one for failure to attend meetings, and a heavy one for failure to meet and organize under the act.

Vestry and wardens are to choose a minister qualified according to the ecclesiastical laws of England, to be paid not less than fifty pounds yearly out of the proceeds of a poll tax of not exceeding five shillings per head, levied on all the taxables of the parish.

The minister is to be constantly resident, and not to fail to officiate more than one-sixth of the Sundays in a year, unless permitted by wardens and vestry to officiate in neighboring vacant parishes.

In addition to levying the tax for salary, vestry and wardens may purchase land for a glebe, build churches and chapels, and are to pay all parochial charges out of gifts and fines and the poll tax. This tax must be paid within twenty days of a date to be set, on penalty of double distress. The wardens are to raise and apply the funds, and to be allowed a commission of three per cent for doing so. If they fail to raise the tax funds, they must pay the parish charges themselves.

A table of marriages is to be posted and "no Minister, Priest, or Magistrate" may marry persons save in accordance with it, under penalty of five pounds.

In 1720, a supplement to the Act of 1715 was enacted, but we do not know its contents.⁵⁶ In 1727, there was an act "to appoint Com-

⁵⁵By Ch. I of the Acts of Assembly of March 8, 1738, precincts were thenceforth to be termed counties. The title of this Act, indicating its content, is printed in Iredell's *Laws* (1791) at p. 61.

⁵⁶Title in Iredell's *Laws* (1791), 35, and in Davis' *Revisal*, ed. 1751, 43.

missioners in every Parish in this Government, to call the Church-wardens and Vestry to Account for the Parish Money by them received." The title is significant but the title is all we know of it.⁵⁷ There was a similar act in 1729.⁵⁸

The Act of 1741, and Later Church Acts

The Act of 1715 was superseded by one of 1741, entitled

"An Act, for Establishing the Church, by appointing Parishes, and the Method of electing Vestries; and for directing the Settlement of Parish Accompts throughout this Government."⁵⁹

It is more detailed and comprehensive than the Act of 1715, and differs from it also in the following important respects: (1) Vestries are no longer self-perpetuating, but are to be chosen every two years by the freeholders of the parish. (2) In addition to the ecclesiastical affairs of the parish, the vestry has also the care of its poor. (3) Wardens must account annually to their vestry. (4) The requirement for rotation of the office of warden is removed. (5) A clause excusing the minister from officiating if disabled by sickness or accident is added. (6) The vestry, by vote of nine of its members, may withdraw the stipend of any minister "notoriously guilty of any scandalous Immorality." The minister may, however, sue the wardens for the withheld stipend, and if a jury finds for him, may recover it with costs. But if the jury finds the action of the wardens justified, then "the Vestry of the Parish are hereby impowered to elect another Minister in his Room and Stead." (7) The sheriff is mentioned as the collector of the parish tax, which he presumably was in actuality all along.

The Act of 1741, amended in 1751 to what effect we do not know,⁶⁰ was disallowed by the crown in April 1754.⁶¹ In the session commencing December 12, 1754, there was enacted in January 1755, and approved by the governor,

⁵⁷In Iredell's *Laws* 48.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 53: "for regulating Vestries . . . and for the better inspecting of the Vestrymen and Churchwardens Accompts. . . ." *Also* in Davis, ed. 1751, 77. See also the reference to the Act of 1729 in the reply of the Assembly to Governor Burrington's address, July, 1733, C.R.N.C. 3:552.

⁵⁹Ch. XXIII of the Acts of April 4th, 1741, in Davis' *Revisal*, ed. 1751, 156 ff. Iredell's *Laws* give the title only, at 84.

⁶⁰C.R.N.C. 4:1273-1274, 1299-1300, journals of legislature, show the enactment, and approval by the governor October 12, 1751, of "The Bill to amend an Act entituled An Act to establish the Church, &c.", but it is not listed by either Davis or Iredell, nor does Weeks mention it.

⁶¹C.R.N.C. 5:116-118, #7.

"An Act, for appointing Parishes and Vestries, for the Encouragement of an Orthodox Clergy, for the Advancement of the Protestant Religion, and for the Direction of the Settlement of Parish Accompts."⁶²

We lack its text, but know from the bishop of London's objections to it that it included the following features: (1) the governor, as representing the crown, was given the right of presentation if the vestry should fail to elect within twelve months after the occurrence of a vacancy, but the vestry could retain its right to present by obtaining a "neighboring or other Minister" to serve the cure once in three months during the vacancy; (2) no salary was set; (3) the minister must officiate when and where the vestry should direct; (4) there was some sort of lay court for the punishment of clergy.

This Act of 1754 (referred to in some of the sources as of 1755, the year of its actual enactment), was disallowed by the crown, March 3, 1759.⁶³

One wonders at the long period which sometimes, as here, elapsed between enactment and crown disallowance. The explanation lies in part in the slowness of communications of the time, and in part in the elaborate procedure for the examination in England of provincial legislation. The editors of the Colonial Records describe the latter as follows:⁶⁴ the act went first to the Secretary of State for America; from him to the Lords of Trade; from them to their legal adviser and from him back to them; from the Lords of Trade to the Privy Council. To which it should be added that, before framing their recommendation to the Privy Council, the Lords of Trade communicated with the bishop of London and waited for receipt of his opinion.

The repeated disallowances of this and other legislation were a source of vexation to the provincial legislature, which could not but feel that the home authorities did not understand local conditions. Thus the burgesses, replying November 28, 1759, to the governor's address announcing disallowance *inter alia* of the Church Act of 1754, said:⁶⁵

It is with very sensible Concern we find so many of our Laws
(In our Apprehension) well Calculated for the advancement
of Religion and distribution of Justice thro' the several Parts

⁶²Davis' *Revisal*, ed. 1764, 34; Iredell's *Laws*, 165; C.R.N.C. 5:263, 279, 310 (legislative journals, January 9, 1755); 5:332 (Governor Dobbs to Lords of Trade Feb. 8, 1755); 6:xxx (ed. intro.); 6:10-13 (Bishop of London's objections, Feb. 19, 1759).

⁶³C.R.N.C. 6:15-16, and see *ibid.*, 81, 116, 139, 327.

⁶⁴C.R.N.C. 6:vii-viii.

⁶⁵C.R.N.C. 6:139. The governor's address: *ibid.*, 134.

of this large and Extended province and the Quieting the free-holders in their possessions—Met with his majesty's Royal Disallowance. We persuade ourselves had an Agent been duly authorised at home to have represented to his Majesty and his ministers the Importance and Utility of those Laws and their propriety as adapted to the Circumstances of the Inhabitants of this Province in a true Light they might not thro' the misrepresentation of any Interested Person Contrary to the General Good of the Province have been reported to His Majesty for the Royal Disallowance....

Before the disallowance of the Act of 1754 became known, the legislature enacted and the governor approved, on December 22, 1758, an Act "For making better provision for the Clergy," by which salaries were increased to an annual £100 in local currency, with an additional allowance of £20 in lieu of glebe.⁶⁸

The Twin Acts: Clergy and Vestry

Following receipt of word of the disallowance of the Act of 1754, the legislature adopted the expedient of dividing into two parts the subject-matter of the previous Church Acts, so as to deal with vestries in one act and clergy in another.⁶⁹ It began this policy by enactment in January 1760 (session of November 20, 1759), of an interim Vestry Act, entitled "An Act for the Appointment of Vestries," to make it possible to levy taxes for salaries pending further legislation. The text is unknown, but the act was limited to one year.⁷⁰

Later in the same year of 1760, there were twin acts: "An Act for establishing Vestries," and "An Act, for making Provision for an Orthodox Clergy."⁷¹ The texts of these also have not survived, but some features are indicated in the objections made by the bishop of London, which were: (1) vestrymen not required to be members of the Church of England; (2) no penalty to compel payment of the

⁶⁸Davis, ed. 1764, 142; Iredell, 183. (The date given by both is that of the commencement of the session: Nov. 23, 1758); C.R.N.C. 5:1095, 1097, (legislative journals). The text has not survived, but the increase in salaries effected is mentioned in a letter by Governor Dobbs to the Lords of Trade of January 22, 1759; C.R.N.C. 6:5.

⁶⁹See Alex Stewart to S.P.G., May 20, 1760, C.R.N.C. 6:242-243.

⁷⁰Davis, ed. 1764, 167; Iredell, 187; C.R.N.C. 6:183-184 (legislative journals, January 9, 1760; 6:223 (Governor Dobbs to S.P.G. January 22, 1760).

⁷¹Davis, ed. 1764, 182; Iredell, 190; C.R.N.C. 6:xxx-xxxi (ed. intro.); 6:361-362, 419 (legislature journals, May 23, 1760); 6; 627-628 and 714-716 (objections of the Bishop of London, May 3, 1762).

minister's salary or fees; (3) no penalty for failure to provide a glebe and build a parsonage; (4) no lapse to the Ordinary (here the governor) of the right of presentation upon the vestry's failure to fill a vacancy by the end of one year from its occurrence; (5) temporal courts empowered to try clergy. The acts were disallowed by the crown, June 3, 1762.⁷⁰

In 1762, there was a Clergy Act, the text of which we have, but no Vestry Act: one was enacted by the legislature but the governor rejected it.⁷¹ A summary of the text of the Clergy Act follows:

CHAPTER VI OF THE ACTS OF NOVEMBER 3, 1762.

An Act, for making Provision for an Orthodox Clergy.

I. Preamble.

II. Every incumbent to have a salary of £133-6-8 proclamation money, and fees as follows:

for marriages, 20 s. if by license; 5 s. if by banns.

for publishing banns and furnishing certificate thereof, 1s. 6d.

for preaching a funeral sermon, 40 s.

The fee is demandable, though the performance was by others, if incumbent was ready to perform.

III. In every parish where there is as yet no glebe, a tract of good arable land of at least 200 acres to be purchased by the vestry as a glebe, and until it be purchased, and a convenient mansion house erected on it, £20 proclamation money to be paid incumbent in lieu of glebe and house.

IV. Vestries are empowered and "required" to erect such a mansion, 38' x 18' with kitchen, barn, stable, dairy, and meat house.

V. Minister to maintain buildings; his estate liable for his failure.

VI. Vestry may repair where minister not guilty of wilful waste.

VII. Sole right of presentation to be and remain in vestries.

⁷⁰C.R.N.C. 6:720-723.

⁷¹Davis, ed. 1764, 279 (text of Clergy Act); Iredell, 208 (title only); Weeks, J.H.U. Studies XI, Nos. v and vi, 34; C.R.N.C. 6:xxxi-xxxii (ed. intro.); 6:951, 954, (legislative journals: failure of governor and legislature to agree on restoration to Vestry Act of a clause empowering governor to present where vestries fail to qualify); 6:970-972 (Governor Dobbs to Lords of Trade, March 7, 1763; the governor's reference to "last month" as date of legislation must represent a slip); 6:976-977 (Rev. Mr. Stewart to S.P.G., March 20, 1763).

VIII. In case of a vacancy, vestry may employ a neighboring minister or a reader in the interim.

IX. No vestry to present one who has not a certificate from the Bishop of London as to conformity, due ordination, and good life.

X. Clergymen "guilty of any gross crime or notorious immorality" may be removed by the governor by and with the advice of the Council, removal "to be of the same Force and Effect as any Sentence of Deprivation in any Ecclesiastical or other Court whatsoever, any Law, Usage or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding."

XI. Repealer.

Presumably this act was disallowed by the crown, being open to some of the objections made to earlier acts, but there seems to be no record of the fact.⁷²

The Vestry Act of January 1760 had been limited to one year, and had been replaced by one of later in the same year which, as we have seen, had been disallowed June 3, 1762. In February 1764, the governor approved "An Act concerning Vestries." It made the minister a member of the vestry; gave the vestry power to levy a tax of 10 s. per taxable to build churches, glebe houses, school houses, pay a schoolmaster and maintain the poor; required vestrymen to promise not to oppose the doctrine, discipline, and liturgy of the Church of England. But it did not require vestrymen to be members of the Church; in fact, it imposed a heavy fine upon dissenters elected to be vestrymen but refusing to qualify. Failure to vote for vestrymen was also fined except in the case of Quakers. The act was limited to five years.⁷³ There seems to be no record of a disallowance, which may, however, have been decreed.

In May, 1765, "An Act for establishing an Orthodox Clergy" was approved by Governor Tryon, who, after some months as lieutenant-governor, became governor upon the death of Dobbs, March 28, 1765.⁷⁴

⁷²See Iredell, 208, referring to his note to an earlier Act, p. 84. And see C.R.N.C. 6:1049, Pownall, of Lords of Trade, to Governor Tryon, July 2, 1764; Act objectionable and we cannot advise its confirmation.

⁷³Weeks, J.H.U. Studies XI, Nos. v and vi, 37-38, gives a summary of the text of the Act and cites Davis, ed. 1765, 315, which I have not been able to consult. The text is also summarized in C.R.N.C. 6:xxxii (ed. intro.). Iredell, 212, has the title of the Act. See also C.R.N.C. 6:1144-1145, 1215 (legislative journals, March 9, 1764); 6:1036 (Governor Dobbs to Lords of Trade, March 29, 1764); 6:1042 (Rev. Mr. Moir to S.P.G., April 4, 1764).

⁷⁴Iredell, 221; C.R.N.C. 7:88 (legislative journals, May 18, 1765). The death of Governor Dobbs is mentioned in C.R.N.C. 6:1320-1321; Governor Tryon's appointment as lieutenant-governor, *ibid.*, 1063; his arrival in the province about October 15, 1764, *ibid.*, 1064.

The text has not survived, but we are told by the letter of a missionary, the Rev. James Reid, that it did not further increase the salaries, but did concede the right of presentation to the crown, and provided "a shorter and much easier method" for ministers to sue for their stipends.⁷⁵ From another missionary, we learn that the act provided for induction by the governor.⁷⁶

A communication from the bishop of London (Richard Terrick) to the Lords of Trade of January 13, 1766,⁷⁷ gives further information. The act did not in express terms concede the presentation to the crown, but merely was silent on the subject which, the bishop argues, leaves it in the crown to be exercised by the governor. The bishop says that the act considerably augments the provision for the clergy, from £80 to £133-6-8 per annum, but he is evidently comparing the act, not with the next preceding Act of 1762, but with some previous one, perhaps that of 1754. It is certain from letters of missionaries that the Act of 1765 did not increase the salaries provided by the Act of 1762.⁷⁸ The "shorter and much easier method" for recovery of stipends, mentioned by missionary Reid, the bishop describes as a motion in the superior court against churchwardens and vestry. The act, he says, allows the governor and council to suspend for immorality, but only until the bishop of London shall act to restore or deprive. The bishop concedes that under present circumstances the power to suspend may best be lodged with the governor, but insists that the bishop of London has no power to restore or deprive without a commission from the crown, which he lacks. It is true that the jurisdiction of the bishop of London over the colonial Church was not on a completely secure ecclesiastical basis, yet instructions to colonial governors direct encouragement of the bishop of London's ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and perhaps assumption of the power to restore or deprive would not have met with a challenge from the crown. Finally, the bishop notes omission in the act of the requirement of a certificate from him, but he does not consider the omission important now that the right of presentation (as he thinks) is in the governor, who is subject to instructions on this point.

Governor Tryon deemed the new act "free from every material objection."⁷⁹ However, he was obliged to concede later that the local

⁷⁵Rev. Mr. Reid to S.P.G., July 10, 1765, C.R.N.C. 7:97.

⁷⁶Rev. Mr. Stewart to S.P.G., June, 1767, C.R.N.C. 7:494.

⁷⁷C.R.N.C. 7:150-153.

⁷⁸Rev. Mr. Reid to S.P.G., July 10, 1765, C.R.N.C. 7:97; Rev. Mr. Stewart to S.P.G., June 1767, C.R.N.C. 7:494.

⁷⁹Letter of July 31, 1765, to S.P.G., C.R.N.C. 7:103.

attitude was that the silence of the act on presentations left these to the vestries.⁸⁰ And one of the provincial clergy pointed out that an appeal to the bishop of London from a suspension was too expensive to be an effective remedy.⁸¹ However, the crown approved the act on June 26, 1767, though it requested the governor to press for a supplementary act providing payment of all or a part of a suspended minister's salary to the person replacing him *ad interim*.⁸²

Pursuant to his instructions, Governor Tryon did ask the session of November 1768 to provide for the support of interim clergy, and it responded with an act, which he approved, "to amend and explain" the Clergy Act of 1765.⁸³ At the same session, there was enacted and approved "An Act to amend and continue" for five years the Vestry Act of 1764, itself a five-year act, due to expire in 1769. The governor would have liked to have had a perpetual act, but had to accept a five-year one. Some Vestry Act was essential because without one the salaries provided in the Clergy Act could not be taxed and paid.⁸⁴ There seems to be no record of a disallowance of either of these two acts.

Governor Tryon was made governor of New York in the middle of 1771, and was succeeded after a brief interval by Josiah Martin, the last colonial governor of the province. In March 1774, there was an act, which he approved, amending and continuing the Vestry Act of 1768 for ten years.⁸⁵

Points of Contention: Patronage

All these Church Acts, Clergy Acts, Vestry Acts, represent a struggle between provincial legislature and crown over principles of Church government expressed in legislative forms, with the governor, in the middle, attempting to insist upon the crown's demands, but usually faced with the alternative of accepting less than he was told to require, or obtaining nothing. The main points of contention were:

⁸⁰Letter to the Bishop of London, October 6, 1766, C.R.N.C. 7:261.

⁸¹Rev. Mr. Stewart to S.P.G., June 1767, C.R.N.C. 7:494.

⁸²C.R.N.C. 7:507, 546-547. The approval was proclaimed by the governor, January 13, 1768; C.R.N.C. 7:673.

⁸³Iredell, 239; C.R.N.C. 7:891-892, 920-922, 976-979 (legislative journals, Dec. 3, 1768).

⁸⁴Iredell, 239; C.R.N.C. 7:920-922, 976-979 (legislative journals Dec. 3, 1768); 8:4-5 (Governor Tryon to Lord Hillsborough, January 10, 1769).

⁸⁵Iredell, 271; C.R.N.C. 9:860-862, 927-928 (legislative journals, March 19, 1774); 9:1010-1011 (Governor Martin to Lord Dartmouth, July 13, 1774; the governor refers to the Act of 1774 as amending the Act of 1764, perhaps because the Act of 1768 was a continuation of that of 1764); 9:1014-1015 (Rev. Mr. Reid to S.P.G., July 19, 1774).

Patronage: Should the crown, through its governor, or the vestries, "present," that is, choose, the minister?

Tenure: Could the crown insist that the minister, by whomever chosen, be inducted by the governor or his deputy, with resultant life tenure, subject only to any power of removal for misconduct, which might exist in someone? Or were agreements from year to year to obtain?

Removal for misconduct: Was this to be accomplished locally, and, in the absence of any bishop or commissary, by laymen? Or, because in England only a bishop could remove, was there to be no removal?

Vestry control of the minister's use of his time, by means of orders when and where to officiate, and how often.

Maintenance: the sufficiency of the salary; its collectibility; provision of parsonage and glebe.

Minister to be a member of the vestry or not.

The qualifications of vestrymen: must they be Churchmen?

In regard to patronage, the fundamental question was: Under the ecclesiastical law of England, who had the right to name the parson, when the living had no patron? On this Phillimore makes his own a statement by Bishop Gibson in his *Codex*:⁸⁶

The king is patron paramount of all the benefices in England. In virtue of which, the right and care of filling all such churches, as are not regularly filled by other patrons, belongs to the crown, whether it happen through the neglect of others (as in the case of lapse), or through incapacity to present, as if the patron be attainted, or outlawed, or an alien, or have been guilty of simony or the like.

Gibson gives no authority for his statement. However, the king's right is recognized in 25 Edw. 3, in decisions of the 16th and 17th centuries, and by a modern authoritative compilation of the laws of England.⁸⁷ The basis of the right is assurance that the cure will be

⁸⁶Phillimore: *Eccl. Law* (2nd ed., 1895) I, 293, citing Gibson, p. 763. The citation turns out on examination to be a quotation, the text of which appears in the first edition (1713) at p. 803, in the second edition (1761), at p. 763.

⁸⁷25 Edw. 3, Stat. 6, IV(2), (1351-1352), 1 Stats. at Large (1763) 268, 270; Beverley v. Canterbury (Bishop) and Cornwel, 1 Anderson 148, 123 E. R. R. 401 (1586); Thornton v. Savill, Palmer 306, 311, 81 E. R. R. 1095, 1098 (1622); The King v. Archbishop of Canterbury and Pryst, Croke Car. 354, 79 E. R. R. 910 (1634); 11 Halsbury's *Laws of England*, 2nd ed. 1933, p. 434, #734. See also, Makower: *Const. Hist. C. of E.*, p. 250.

served, the right to present in case of lapse going successively from patron to bishop, bishop to archbishop, archbishop to the king.⁸⁸

But the king's right was confined to cases of lapse: in England there was always a patron, though the patron might be neglectful, or incapable in law for one reason or other. In the colonies it was not a question of a neglectful or disqualified patron, but, ordinarily, of no patron at all. Could it be argued that the colonial select vestry, and not the crown, was the rightful successor to the patron? The English patron's right rested on the theory (historically false in relation to foundations earlier than 1179) "that the Church, in recognition of the generosity of a founder, allows his successors in title to nominate to the benefice he endowed."⁸⁹ In the colonies, there were few if any parish endowments, but the congregations which the vestries represented had built the churches and supported them and their clergy. A case could therefore be made for their succession to the right of the patron. On the other side, it could be argued that originally the bishop filled benefices; that the patron's right represented a compromise forced upon the Church; that the patron having, in the colonies, disappeared, the bishop regained his full right; and that, in the absence of a bishop, the crown, under its duty to act where a bishop did not or could not act, might appoint through its governor.

There was, and is, no way of adjudicating the dispute: it was adjudicated by history in favor of the vestries to the extent of recognizing their right of original nomination, but leaving unsettled the scope of the bishop's subsequent action. The English canon law, which was also the ecclesiastical law of patronage, allowed the bishop to object to the patron's nominee upon any one of four grounds: lack of canonical age, lack of due ordination, lack of orthodoxy, and deficient morals. If his objection on any one or more of these grounds were contested by patron or by nominee, it went to trial in an ecclesiastical court, for which a mandate could if necessary be had in a secular court. If the bishop could make or establish no objection on any of these grounds, the nominee went in.

These limitations upon the patron's right were essential if the Church were to continue to function as the Church. They were observed in the colonies in the sense that the clergy who came thither had all been examined in these regards by the bishop of London, as well as by the diocesan who had admitted them to a benefice, or licensed

⁸⁸Beverley v. Canterbury (Bishop) and Cornwel, *supra*, Note #87; 11 Halsbury's *Lat.*, p. 696, #1258.

⁸⁹E. W. Watson and Gordon Crosse in *Dict. Eng. Ch. Hist.* (3rd ed. 1948), 455-456.

them to serve without one. They may be said to have become a part of the canon law of the colonial Church, because of their unvarying application in the colonies. To say this is not however to say that the English law of patronage, of which they were a part, became domiciled in the colonies, for these four requirements were a part of general, and English, canon law, as well as a part of the law of patronage; that is, they would have been in effect had there been no law of patronage. It seems clear, then, that the post-Revolutionary American vestry inherited these limitations upon its right of nomination. What was left undetermined was whether the bishop had a larger control over the nominees of vestries than he had had over the nominees of patrons: whether or not, to be specific, he could reject the nominee merely because, in his uncontrolled discretion, he considered him not the proper man for that post. This question will be given full consideration in a larger work now under way. Here we can take account only of some tentative general considerations.

What seems to lie before us is the difficult question: how far do the different colonial and post-Revolutionary conditions modify the English law of patronage, for we start with the rule that, except as so modified, the American Church is governed by the canon and ecclesiastical law of England as it stood when the colonies declared their independence. The further qualification that this law, within permissible limits, may be modified also by American canonical legislation, may be disregarded here, since this legislation is not now under review.

First, it must be asked whether the fact that the English law of patronage is not applicable to America in its entirety requires that none of it be applicable, and the answer would seem to be No. It would require a separate essay to prove the correctness of the answer, but the principle involved is that modification and adaptation, rather than abrogation of inherited institutions, are the norm of cultural developments, and of law. The American vestry can and does perform the nominating function of the patron. The bishop is present to perform, within whatever limitations, his function of placement. That no procedure, or no readily ascertainable procedure, exists for determining disputes between bishop and nominating vestries, is not important, for such procedure can be devised, and doubtless will be when and if the need for it becomes acute.

It is true that patronage represents a concession forced upon the Church, and probably true that on the whole it was a harmful concession, however necessary under the circumstances which gave rise to it. The bishop knows, or should know, better than anyone else the type

of man needed for a particular cure, and any interference with his full discretion is undesirable. But is not this merely to argue for what ought to be, in disregard of what is? Have we not inherited the English law of patronage, with only necessary modifications, and, as part of it, the limitation of the bishop's right to object to a nominee? If this be true, must not any change come by legislation? And if legislation has not altered the rule,^{89-a} the bishop may have no absolute veto upon a vestry's choice; if the vestry nominee be of canonical age and duly ordained, and not criminous or immoral or unlearned (within the limited meaning of the last term accepted by some examining boards), perhaps the bishop may not canonically reject him. But this is not the opportunity for a thorough examination of the question. Let us return now to the North Carolina scene, and to the main points of contention between legislature and crown, already listed.⁹⁰

We were about to consider the struggle over the right to present, or originally name the parson, when we found it necessary to sketch the canonical background of the struggle.

When Governor Dobbs in 1754 requested legislation for the Church in his address to the Assembly, the House of Burgesses referred its request to its Committee on Propositions and Grievances. The committee, reporting favorably, nevertheless demanded that provision be made "to preserve the Right of presentation of Ministers to the Vestry and people the Founders and Endowers of the Churches."^{90-a} In the resulting act, as we have seen, the most that was conceded the crown was the right to present if the vestry should fail to act within twelve months, and this concession was made nugatory by other provisions.

The governors found it impossible to obtain local legislation expressly conceding to the crown the right to present.⁹¹ The maximum obtainable was legislation which was silent on the subject.⁹² The attitude of the legislature reflected that of the vestries, and of their congre-

^{89-a}Col. Dykman, in his revision of White, *Constitution and Canons . . .*, argues (II, 222-223) that the General Convention canon on Vacant Cures (now numbered 47) represents a legislative departure from the English ecclesiastical law.

⁹⁰*Supra*, "Points of Contention," at Note #86.

^{90-a}C.R.N.C. 5:213, 233-234 (Governor's Request); 5:297, 299 (Committee Report).

⁹¹Governor Dobbs to Lords of Trade, Feb. 8, 1755, C.R.N.C. 5:332; same to same, March 7, 1763, C.R.N.C. 6:971.

⁹²Act of May, 1765. The statement by Missionary Reid in a letter of July 10, 1765, to the S.P.G., C.R.N.C. 7:97, that in this act the right of presentation had been given up to the crown, is shown by other evidence to have been his inference from silence. *See above*, Notes #74-#84.

gations. Thus the missionary, John Barnett, writes the S.P.G. in 1768:⁹³

The people of this Parish do still so violently oppose the presentation of the Crown to the Living, that I believe it will be found necessary for me to remove to another part of the province as my settling here, contrary to the inclination of the people, must render my situation very disagreeable, and also prevent my being any longer useful here.

He concludes with the information that the governor (Tryon) has postponed his presentation for six months; at the end of that period, if the people are still opposed, the writer would like to be placed elsewhere.

The rule that if the patron failed to present within the canonical time, the presentation lapsed to the bishop, or, in the colonies, to the crown, was evaded⁹⁴ by bringing in a neighboring minister for a few services and declining to admit that there was a vacancy.⁹⁵

The astute and determined Tryon effected some presentations,⁹⁶ but finally decided that he could effectively overcome opposition only by means of an amicable action in the courts of the colony to obtain a ruling in favor of the right of the crown;⁹⁷ his transfer to another post, soon after he made this decision, prevented his acting upon it.

Points of Contention: Induction and Removal

Closely related, as parts of the same patronage system, to presentation, and to each other, were the life tenure resulting from induction by the governor as representative of the crown functioning in default of a bishop, and removal for misconduct, the only method of cutting short that tenure. North Carolina vestries, like those of Maryland and Virginia, liked to confine their parsons to one-year terms so as to be easily rid of them if they proved unsatisfactory. The legislature again reflected the policy of the vestries. Governor Dobbs wrote the Lords of Trade in 1763⁹⁸ that the principal objection of the Assembly to crown presenta-

⁹³June 11, C.R.N.C. 7:789-790. And see Tryon to S.P.G., March 20, 1769, C.R.N.C. 8:13; Dobbs' address to the legislature, November session, 1757, C.R.N.C. 5:870.

⁹⁴Governor Dobbs to Lords of Trade, January 22, 1759, C.R.N.C. 6:5.

⁹⁵As to this practice, see the disallowed Acts of January 1755 and November 3, 1762, in the text *supra*, at Notes #62 and #70; and the letter of the Bp. of London in C.R.N.C. 9:81.

⁹⁶C.R.N.C. 7:704; 8:45, 221.

⁹⁷C.R.N.C. 8:13, 14, 219-220.

⁹⁸March 7, C.R.N.C. 6:971.

tion and induction was the absence of any means of suspending or degrading the immoral or neglectful,

as there are no Bishops nor persons invested with Episcopal power to censure or degrade them, and most of those who come over ordained in England come to get bread without a View to the cure of souls, and in that case could not be removed by them. This objection can only be obviated by recommending it to His Majesty to erect Bishopricks in the present extensive Empire of British America. . . .

Whether or not the governor's opinion of the quality of the missionaries was just may be considered later, when we review the evidence on the character of the missionaries.⁹⁹ Although mere neglect was not ground for removal even in England, there was real need for a speedy means of removing the ill-behaved, but the home government failed to supply it. All that the governor was told in his instructions was to use "the proper and usual means" for removal,¹⁰⁰ which under the circumstances meant exactly nothing. The proper and usual means for the removal of a priest serving in England was to charge and try the offender in the court of his bishop. But there was no such means for the removal of a priest serving in America. About the year 1726, the law officers of the crown, passing upon a petition by Edmund Gibson, bishop of London, to the king and council for a commission to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the American colonies, reported that ecclesiastical jurisdiction in America belonged to the crown under the Act of Supremacy, and not to any English bishop, and that the proper way to grant to any person the exercise of such jurisdiction was by royal patent. Such a patent was granted to Gibson in April 1728. It gave him power to try, correct, and punish clerics serving in America, subject to the right of defendant to appeal to a committee of the Privy Council. The corrective jurisdiction granted the bishop might be exercised through commissaries.¹⁰¹ Alexander Garden was appointed commissary for the Carolinas in 1726,¹⁰² but though he was active in South Carolina, there is no record of any activity of his in the northern colony

⁹⁹Post, "The Clergy: Numbers and Character."

¹⁰⁰Labaree: *Royal Instructions to Colonial Governors*, (Appleton-Century, 1935) II:482; quoted *supra* at Note #24; also in C.R.N.C. 3:110, #78.

¹⁰¹For Gibson's petition, and the action of the law officers, and the resulting patent or commission, see Cross: *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (1904), 57-58, where, however, there is unfortunately lacking any reference to the record of the opinion of the law officers. Cross seems to have obtained his information from a contemporary English weekly, which he cites.

¹⁰²Cross, *op. cit.*, 49.

beyond one report upon the conduct of an S.P.G. appointee.¹⁰³ And Garden resigned his office in 1749. Moreover, Bishop Sherlock, who succeeded Gibson in 1748, treated the royal patent granted Gibson as personal to Gibson and, probably to try to force provision of a bishop or bishops for the colonies, refused to apply for one to himself.¹⁰⁴ In all this there was no comfort for North Carolina vestries. Therefore, while deprecating lay domination, with its tendency to dilute doctrine and vulgarize worship, we may sympathize with the colonists' insistence on one-year terms as the sole practical solution, and with their consequent stubborn opposition to induction.

As early as 1717, the missionary, John Urmstone, writes the S.P.G.¹⁰⁵ of the reluctance of his vestry to consent to his induction by the governor, thus parting with "the power so valued by them of choosing or hiring yearly ministers." The same year he writes again¹⁰⁶ that a colleague "insists on being chosen or inducted for Life, which no Parish here will comply with . . ." This attitude of the parishes is attested for the rest of the colonial period by other reports.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, Tryon did effect some inductions.¹⁰⁸

Points of Contention: The Minister's Time

The desire of vestries to control the clergyman's use of his time, by specifying when, where, and how often he should officiate, appears in the legislation of the colony from at least 1715,¹⁰⁹ and elsewhere.¹¹⁰ It was perhaps due in part to memories of neglect of duty in England, or experience of it in the colony,¹¹¹ and was certainly due in part to local jealousies acting upon a shortage of clergy. In 1717, Urmstone writes

¹⁰³For this report, see *infra*, at Note #195.

¹⁰⁴Cross, *op. cit.*, 86 (resignation of Garden); 58-60, 130-133 (Sherlock's attitude); C.R.N.C. 6:12-13, Sherlock to Lords of Trade.

¹⁰⁵June 22, C.R.N.C. 2:287.

¹⁰⁶October 23, C.R.N.C. 2:295.

¹⁰⁷Moir to S.P.G., Sept. 4, 1742, C.R.N.C. 4:606; Gov. Dobbs to same, March 30, 1762, C.R.N.C. 6:709; Gov. Dobbs to Lords of Trade, March 7, 1763, C.R.N.C. 6:971; Gov. Tryon to S.P.G., March 20, 1769, C.R.N.C. 8:12-13; Vestry of St. James Parish to Gov. Tryon, May 11, 1770, C.R.N.C. 8:199; Tryon to Vestry, July 17, 1770, C.R.N.C. 8:219-220; Tryon to S.P.G., July 22, 1770, C.R.N.C. 8:221; Taylor to S.P.G., C.R.N.C. 9:20.

¹⁰⁸C.R.N.C. 8:45.

¹⁰⁹See the review of legislation above, at Note #54; and see C.R.N.C. 9:443, 658.

¹¹⁰C.R.N.C. 2:294; 6:537, 553-554.

¹¹¹Governor Dobbs to S.P.G., March 30, 1762, C.R.N.C. 6:709; the reason assigned by vestries for annual tenure is that it obliges the clergyman "to do his duty & attend properly."

the S.P.G.:¹¹² "I am blamed for not keeping constantly to my Parish, it is hard neither to pay me nor allow me to go to those that would." A detailed complaint by the Rev. James Moir in 1742 is worth repeating:¹¹³

The Vestrys are chosen in this Province every other year & are empowered to fix the Parish charges & Tax the People accordingly; they make a new agreement with or reject their minister yearly according to pleasure; and the Parishes being very large it happens that sometimes there is a majority of the Vestry in one Quarter & sometimes in another, which renders it difficult for the Minister to know in what places he shall officiate next year or whether he is to officiate at all, in that very Parish where he was elected the preceding year.

The new Vestry of St. James in May last thought their Predecessors had been too generous to me & insisted on my officiating twice a month in two different places about the distance of 20 miles from Wilmington each and once in 3 months in two other places one at the distance of 36 Miles, the other of 60 all in the Parish and where I had officiated formerly; signifying to me at the same time, that they would allow me one Month in the year to visit the other Parishes within the bounds of my Mission; the remainder of the year was to be spent at Wilmington—with which I promised to comply upon this condition they wo^d continue the £50 S^r p^r ann^m according to my agreement with the last Vestry. This they refused..... I immediately took my leave of them.....

A Missionary in this River has a most difficult part to act, for by obliging one of the Towns he must of course disoblige the other, each of them opposing the other to the utmost of their power.

Three years later, Moir writes the S.P.G.¹¹⁴ that, having accepted an invitation to celebrate the Lord's Supper in another parish, he had to withdraw his acceptance to avoid a possible lawsuit with his vestry, which "expressed some Resentment at my leaving them of a Sunday."

Points of Contention: Salary, Parsonage, Glebe

Inadequacy of salaries, delay or entire default in their payment, and failure to provide either parsonage or glebe, were standing grievances of the missionaries which the governors and the crown were unable to remedy. Another was the entire absence, at times, of any legislation for salaries, or for levying and collecting them, due to dis-

¹¹²Oct. 23, C.R.N.C. 2:294.

¹¹³Sept. 4, C.R.N.C. 4:606-607.

¹¹⁴March 26, 1745, C.R.N.C. 4:754.

putes between Governor and Burgesses, or between Council and Burgesses.

We have seen that the first Church Act, in 1701, provided £30 per annum, and that the Act of 1715 raised this to £50. These figures represented local currency: "proclamation money" rather than sterling and accepted at a discount which varied from time to time. The £50 is said to have been worth about £30 sterling.¹¹⁵ The Act of 1758 made the salary £100, and the Act of 1762 made it £133-6-8, in each case with an additional £20, where, as was almost everywhere the case, no glebe had been provided. These two salaries, apart from the extra for glebe, were said to be worth in sterling respectively £52-10¹¹⁶ and £82.¹¹⁷

In addition to the salary, there were fees for marriages and burials, but these are said by one missionary to have amounted to a mere trifle after deduction of travel charges,¹¹⁸ though Governor Dobbs thought a missionary might receive nearly £50 a year from marriages, and thought him rewarded handsomely for visits to neighboring counties when allowed to make them.¹¹⁹

If the statutory salary in effect at any given time had been paid promptly and in full, would it have sufficed to maintain the missionary?

In 1724, a Mr. Dunkenfield writes the bishop of London that the £50 which the Society grants its missionaries, when added to their legal salary of £50 and other considerable advantages, would allow them to live comfortably. The inference is reasonably clear that the statutory salary alone was insufficient.¹²⁰ In 1733, the legislature declared the provision for clergy "ample."¹²¹ In 1742, the Rev. James Moir tells the S.P.G. that the statutory salary, together with the bounty of the Society, "would not defray the necessary charges of my office."¹²²

¹¹⁵Missionary Stewart to S.P.G., June 1768, C.R.N.C. 7:493, reviewing the salary and its true value as it stood when he first arrived in 1754.

¹¹⁶Churchwardens and others of Hanover County to S.P.G., Oct. 1, 1759, C.R.N.C. 6:60. Missionary McDowell, however, writing some six months later, valued the £100 at less than £30 sterling: C.R.N.C. 6:236.

¹¹⁷Stewart to S.P.G., *ubi supra*, Note #115. But Reed, two years earlier, had thought the £133-6-8 plus the £20 for glebe worth only £76-13-4 sterling: C.R.N.C. 7:99.

¹¹⁸Reed to S.P.G., July 10, 1765, C.R.N.C. 7:99.

¹¹⁹To S.P.G., March 30, 1762, C.R.N.C. 6:709.

¹²⁰C.R.N.C. 2:530-531.

¹²¹Reply to Governor Burrington's address, C.R.N.C. 3:552. It refers to an Act of 1729, the text of which we lack. But the statement of Moir, *infra*, text and next following note, indicates that the salary under the Act of 1729 was the same as under the Act of 1715: £50.

¹²²C.R.N.C. 4:606. Moir refers to the statutory salary as being £37-10; the context shows that he meant £37-10 sterling, which would be the approximate value of the £50 provided by the Act of 1715 and by the lost Act of 1729.

In 1759, the churchwardens of Hanover County inform the S.P.G. that "the established income of the clergy here (thro' the bad credit of our currency) does not exceed 50 Guineas in value a year . . .," which they recognize is too small but is all they can give.¹²³ They are evidently speaking of the statutory salary of £100 plus £20 in lieu of glebe, provided by the Act of 1758. 50 guineas would be £52-10 sterling, a guinea being 21 shillings. In 1760, the Rev. John McDowell tells the Society that he cannot live on the £100 of this currency allowed him by the vestry, not so good as £30 at home.¹²⁴ In 1765, the Rev. James Reed writes that the stipend here is insufficient to attract clergy from England; its total does not exceed £76-13-4 sterling. He must be referring to the £133-6-8 plus £20 for glebe, provided by the Act of 1762.

But the question whether the statutory salary was sufficient is almost altogether academic, for a variety of reasons. The local currency, issued only for the payment of the obligations of the provincial government, was scarce, and by no means always available to the individual for discharge of his taxes; these might be paid in commodities, and then how were the parish authorities to obtain currency with which to pay the parson?¹²⁵ The people of a parish were often too poor and too few in number to provide the statutory minimum. Sheriffs, who collected the Church tax, not infrequently delayed or even failed altogether to pay it over to vestries. Either through indifference, or through the hostility of dissenters, vestries could fail to organize, or if organized, to vote the tax. And there were times when the absence of any law prevented action.¹²⁶ And when he did get paid, the missionary found

¹²³C.R.N.C. 6:59.

¹²⁴C.R.N.C. 6:236.

¹²⁵LOCAL CURRENCY SCARCE: Gordon to S.P.G., May 13, 1709, C.R.N.C. 1:715; Moir to S.P.G., March 26, 1745, C.R.N.C. 4:756; Tryon to S.P.G., March 20, 1769; C.R.N.C. 8:14.

PAYING THE PARSON IN COMMODITIES: Urmstone to S.P.G., July 11, 1711, C.R.N.C. 1:771; Moir to S.P.G., *supra*, this note.

¹²⁶The reader will find these and other difficulties connected with salary mentioned in the following references, taken collectively: Adams, C.R.N.C. 1:721; Urmstone, *ibid.*, 1:877; Vestry of St. Paul's, *ibid.*, 2:119; Rainsford, *ibid.*, 2:122; Urmstone, *ibid.*, 2:126-127; Eden, *ibid.*, 2:227-228; Urmstone, *ibid.*, 2:287, 294, 372-373, 381; Dunkenfield, *ibid.*, 2:531; Lapierre, *ibid.*, 3:530, 624-625; Marsden, *ibid.*, 4:12; Moir, *ibid.*, 4:606-607, 754-755, 878; Wardens &c. of Hanover Co. *ibid.*, 6:59; McDowell, *ibid.*, 6:225-226; Wardens &c. of St. Philip's, *ibid.*, 6:232; Dobbs, *ibid.*, 6:235; Reed, *ibid.*, 6:745; Stewart, *ibid.*, 6:977; Reed, *ibid.*, 6:990-991; Moir, *ibid.*, 6:1052-1053; Tryon, *ibid.*, 7:458; Stewart, *ibid.*, 7:493-495; Tryon, *ibid.*, 8:14-15; Council, *ibid.*, 8:492-493; Drage, *ibid.*, 8:502-5-6; Cupples, *ibid.*, 8:551; Reed, *ibid.*, 9:815; Taylor, *ibid.*, 9:1003.

that everything he needed to buy was very dear,¹²⁷ although this may not have been so at all periods.¹²⁸ The S.P.G. made a grant to every man appointed to a mission of £50 per year,¹²⁹ without which the missionaries could not have existed.¹³⁰ Sometimes more was paid,¹³¹ and sometimes the allowance was made temporary.¹³²

Governors Dobbs and Tryon perceived that central taxation and payment was the remedy for the difficulties experienced,¹³³ and the bishop of London agreed,¹³⁴ but the Assembly rejected the idea.¹³⁵

Glebe and parsonage, potentially important parts of the parson's maintenance, were virtually non-existent throughout the colonial period.

Commissary Blair, reporting to the S. P. G. in 1704, states that there were then three glebes;¹³⁶ Missionary William Gordon reports one in Bath in 1709;¹³⁷ and the wardens and vestry of St. Thomas parish, in a place not identified, offer one of 300 acres in 1746;¹³⁸ but in 1760 Missionary Alexander Stewart reports¹³⁹ that there is none in the province except one near Bath. He reports in 1767¹⁴⁰ that glebes are of little importance in the province; those hitherto provided "have been mean, barren, unimproved lands." The work of clearing them costs so much time and expense that few are able on their arrival to undertake it, and besides, they can purchase or rent improved land at a low figure.

As to parsonages, Stewart reports in 1762¹⁴¹ that the "neat glebe house" completed for his parish in Bath, presumably in that year, is "the first ever built in this Province." The lack of decent lodging must have been a severe trial. John Urmstone reports to the S.P.G.

¹²⁷McDowell to S.P.G., Feb. 9, 1760, C.R.N.C. 4:226 ("here where . . . everything [is] so dear"); Reid to S.P.G. July 10, 1765, C.R.N.C. 7:97; Stewart to S.P.G. June, 1767, C.R.N.C. 7:493, 496.

¹²⁸Stewart, *ubi supra*, preceding note, 493.

¹²⁹Dunkenfield to Bp. of L., July 14, 1724, C.R.N.C. 2:531; Tryon to S.P.G., March 20, 1769, C.R.N.C. 8:15.

¹³⁰Reed to S.P.G., Dec. 27, 1762, C.R.N.C. 6:745; Dec. 26, 1763, *ibid.*, 6:999; Barnett to S.P.G., Feb. 1, 1766, C.R.N.C. 7:161.

¹³¹Commissary Garden to Bp. of L., Sept. 6, 1737, C.R.N.C. 4:265; Tryon to S.P.G., April 30, 1767, C.R.N.C. 7:458.

¹³²Tryon to Bp. of L., Oct. 6, 1766, C.R.N.C. 7:262.

¹³³Dobbs to the Assembly of November 1757 and of November 1758, C.R.N.C. 5:870 and 1014; Dobbs to S.P.G., Jan. 22, 1760, C.R.N.C. 6:223; Tryon to the Assembly of May 1765, C.R.N.C. 7:42.

¹³⁴Letter to Lords of Trade, Jan. 13, 1766, C.R.N.C. 7:150-151.

¹³⁵Tryon to Lords of Trade, August 15, 1765, C.R.N.C. 7:105.

¹³⁶Letter of Jan. 17, C.R.N.C. 1:601.

¹³⁷Letter of May 13, C.R.N.C. 1:715.

¹³⁸C.R.N.C. 4:796.

¹³⁹May 20, C.R.N.C. 6:243.

¹⁴⁰June, C.R.N.C. 7:495.

¹⁴¹October 6, C.R.N.C. 6:735.

in 1717¹⁴² that a colleague, Ebenezer Taylor, "arrived here about a month ago but is not fixed not being able to find a house to put his head in, There's no living here for a Clergyman except he will keep house . . ." Moir reports in 1745¹⁴³ that his vestry's promise to find him a house has been made good by lodging him in a garret, and adds:

"My Slave cooks for himself in the open Air, & I am obliged to shift from place to place for a dinner or a Supper frequenting their Taverns or Public Houses of Entertainment much against my inclination indeed. . . ."

The lack of parsonages and of glebes seems to have been due to the same causes which obtained as to salaries.

Points of Contention: Minister a Member of Vestry?

As to the minister's membership on the vestry, it seems that one of the two earliest acts—either that of 1701 or that of 1704 or 1705—expressly provided for it. Writing in July 1711, Urmston said to the S.P.G.:¹⁴⁴

Our blessed Vestrymen who are to establish the Church in Order thereto at the first strike at one of the fundamentals in understanding the Act of Vestry otherwise than it was intended in a former Act which the Soc'y did not allow of as you may remember it was said expressly that the Minister should always be deemed a Vestryman which is highly necessary here where they are so great strangers to the business of a Vestry. they have omitted that for the minister being a Vestryman whereupon many will have it that the Minister hath nothing to do in Vestry which is contrary to our Establishment in England and will of course destroy this Act too if so understood.

"This Act" is that of 1711. Speaking accurately, apart from legislation making him such, the minister is never a vestryman, but the *ex officio* presiding officer of the vestry, whose right to preside can-

¹⁴²October 23, C.R.N.C. 2:294. A little later Taylor did find shelter: C.R. N.C. 2:304.

¹⁴³March 26, C.R.N.C. 4:755.

¹⁴⁴C.R.N.C. 1:771.

not be questioned.¹⁴⁵ The distinction might, at times, be important. But the colonial legislation, and, indeed, the crown's instructions to its governors, did not make it. Those to the first royal governor, Bur-rington, in 1730, read:¹⁴⁶

You are to give orders forthwith, (if the same be not already done) that every Orthodox minister within your government be one of the vestry in his respective parish and that no vestry be held without him save in case of sickness or that after notice of a vestry sumoned he omit to come.

Those who argued that the omission from the Act of 1711 of the earlier requirement that the minister be a member of the vestry was a denial of his right to membership seem to have had their way, for in 1714 Urmston complains¹⁴⁷ that he is not allowed to "sit in Vestry." The Act of 1715 did not restore the requirement, nor was it restored until 1764. In 1761, the Rev. Mr. MacDowell informed the S.P.G.:¹⁴⁸

The Gentlemen of the vestries here, meet and hold their vestries without the minister & take upon them to do everything themselves without his presence.....that they may have the more liberty of arguing among themselves & Settling his Salary, and appointing him his Services....

There was undoubtedly a most cruel spirit in some, perhaps many, of the vestries; other parts of the letter from which the above quotation is taken furnish an illustration. Nevertheless the presence of the minister at all vestry meetings does pose one of the problems attending the unstable and difficult compromise represented by American parish law.

In 1763, Governor Dobbs told the Lords of Trade¹⁴⁹ that he had notified the Assembly of his willingness to sign temporary bills (a Clergy Act and a Vestry Act), if they would make the parson one of the vestry and give up to the crown the avowson and presentation.

¹⁴⁵That a rector or vicar is not a member of the vestry was ruled by Kenyon, L. J., in *Mawley v. Barbet*, 2 Espinasse 687, 170 English Reports Reprint 496 (Nisi Prius, King's Bench, 1798). That he presides at meetings of the vestry by immemorial usage and propriety was ruled by Sir John Nicoll in *Wilson v. M'Math*, 3 Phillimore's Ecclesiastical Cases 67 at 79-81, 161 E. R. R. 1260 at 1264 (Peculiars Court of Canterbury, 1819). See also, Phillimore, *Ecclesiastical Law*, (2nd ed. 1895), II:1497-1498. The rule should apply to select vestries as well as to the general type. But see Beatrice & Sidney Webb: *English Local Government* (&c.), I, 36, (1906) as to uncertainty regarding the incumbent's right to preside.

¹⁴⁶C.R.N.C. 3:110, #79. Also, in Larabee, *Royal Instructions*, II:486, #699.

¹⁴⁷April 12, C.R.N.C. 2:127.

¹⁴⁸April 16, C.R.N.C. 6:553.

¹⁴⁹March 7, C.R.N.C. 6:970.

They refused, and he signed only a Clergy Act.¹⁵⁰ Finally, in 1764, he obtained the desired provision.¹⁵¹

Points of Contention: Restricting Vestry Membership to Churchmen

One more topic remains for consideration in the list of those which occasioned contention between crown and provincial legislature: membership of dissenters on vestries. The first Church Act of which we have any account, that of 1704 or 1705,¹⁵² prescribed no religious qualification for vestrymen, nor did the succeeding Act of 1711. That of 1715 introduced an oath not to "apugne" the liturgy of the Church of England, thus implicitly permitting dissenters to serve if not obstructive. The Act of 1741, which was next, had only the same provision. The first recorded effort by the crown to obtain a stricter rule appears in a list of objections made by the bishop of London to an Act of 1760, that it did not require vestrymen to be members of the Church. This act, like all its predecessors save the Act of 1715, was disallowed. A Vestry Act of 1764 adhered to the mild requirement of the Act of 1715, broadened to include doctrine and discipline as well as liturgy, and attempted at the same time to check another sort of obstruction by imposing a heavy fine upon dissenters elected but refusing to qualify. This act, limited to five years, was continued for another five in 1768, and again for ten years in 1774.

Such is the legislative record. The basic difficulty, of course, was the attempt to set up parish government in an area not ready for it: that is, in a sparse and religiously heterogeneous population not, in general, financially capable of making the necessary provision for places of worship, housing for the clergy, and adequate salaries, and not infrequently opposed to doing so. Moreover the franchise for election of vestrymen was not restricted to Churchmen,¹⁵³ and the number of vestrymen to be chosen, twelve, was too large under the conditions which obtained.

Contemporary sources give us a good idea of these conditions. Urmston, writing in 1711,¹⁵⁴ says that when the Church Act (of that

¹⁵⁰See his letter cited in the next preceding note, and Rev. Mr. Stewart to S.P.G., March 20, 1763, C.R.N.C. 6:977: "the assembly rather than give the Episcopal Ministers a seat in their vestries, have made no vestry act."

¹⁵¹Davis: *Laws*, ed. 1765; summary in C.R.N.C. 6:xxxii (ed. intro.); Dobbs to Lords of Trade, March 29, 1764, C.R.N.C. 6:1036.

¹⁵²For this and the succeeding Acts, see *ante*, at Note #49ff.

¹⁵³C.R.N.C. 6:xxxiii (ed. intro.)

¹⁵⁴July 7, C.R.N.C. 1:771.

year) was enacted, many burgesses thrust themselves into office as vestrymen, though many of them were Presbyterians or Independents. The act, curiously, had made every burgess a vestryman in the parish of his residence. In 1714, Urmston reports¹⁵⁵ that on the vestry of the parish where he is working are two Anabaptists, three vehement Scotch Presbyterians, and one man descended from Quakers, and he believes never baptized. In 1717, he mentions an amusing incident:¹⁵⁶ a vestry meeting was called to fill a vacancy due to the resignation of a vestryman who was disqualified because he would not swear not to oppugn the Church of England; this man said that he must go sometimes to the Quakers' meeting, "and if he saw cause he might one time or another oppugn. . . ." The next year, reporting baptisms, Urmston states¹⁵⁷ that the mother of one child he baptized is the daughter of

"an Anabaptist who pretends to be a Physician Fortune Teller and Conjurer, always chosen Burgess for that precinct and a leading man in our Assemblies a fit Man you will say, for a Vestry man, but we have too many such in other Vestries whence it is we find so little favor among them; they rather oppose than promote the Interest of our Church. . . ."

Moir, in 1742, reports¹⁵⁸ that the majority of the present vestry at Wilmington are "professed Dissenters," and did their best to provoke him to leave. The Rev. Andrew Morton, en route in 1766 to serve Mecklenburg county, found on his arrival at Brunswick in Northampton County information that the inhabitants of Mecklenburg evaded the vestry act by electing the most rigid dissenters for vestrymen, who would not qualify.¹⁵⁹ With the approval of Governor Tryon, he remained in Northampton county.¹⁶⁰ In Salisbury, Rowan County, in 1770, churchmen and dissenters presented separate lists of candidates for vestrymen. Those on the dissenters' list let it be known that if elected, they would not qualify:

"that they had thus kept the Church out for years and hoped to do so perpetually, with much impudence and impudent threats on the part of the voters as to the consequence of any establishment of a clergyman of the Church of England."

¹⁵⁵June 12, C.R.N.C. 2:131.

¹⁵⁶June 22, C.R.N.C. 2:286.

¹⁵⁷May 2, 1718, C.R.N.C. 2:304.

¹⁵⁸Sept. 4, C.R.N.C. 4:607.

¹⁵⁹Reed, a colleague, to S.P.G., July 20, 1766, C.R.N.C. 7:241; Morton to S.P.G., Aug. 25, 1766, C.R.N.C. 7:252-253, to the same effect.

¹⁶⁰C.R.N.C. 7:253, 260.

The dissenters, though far outnumbered, won the election because so many of the churchmen had been unable to obtain the patents for their lands which would have qualified them to vote as freeholders.¹⁶¹

Lack of Churches

Though not a subject of contention between crown and provincial legislature, the want of church buildings was a handicap. The legislature seems to have been reasonably cooperative but local initiative, sustained interest, and financial ability seem to have been lacking. When a church had been built, it not infrequently fell out of repair, sometimes because there was no vestry in existence to care for it.¹⁶²

When Blair reported to the S.P.G. on his mission to North Carolina in 1704, he was able to state that three small churches had been built.¹⁶³ Yet when Governor Dobbs arrived in November 1754, he found "not above one Church roofed and seated in the Province."¹⁶⁴ Ten years later, in 1764, he told the legislature that there were then not above three or four churches finished fit for divine service.¹⁶⁵ In 1765, his successor, Tryon, listed one church in good repair, two others wanting considerable repairs, and two under construction; there were, however, he said, two, three, or four chapels in each county, served in some instances by a lay reader.¹⁶⁶ Presumably, these chapels were very small affairs. Tryon pushed forward the completion of the two churches under construction and the repair or building of others. The net result may have been seven churches complete and useful when Tryon departed in 1771, although the notices are too indefinitely worded for certainty.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹Missionary Drage to Governor Tryon, May 29, 1770, and to S.P.G., Feb. 28, 1771, C.R.N.C. 8:202-203, 208, and 503, 506.

¹⁶²On the lack of local vigor, see Urmston, C.R.N.C. 1:765-766, 769-770; Hall, C.R.N.C. 4:793; Woodmason, C.R.N.C. 7:284. As to falling out of repair, see Urmston, *ubi supra*; Earl, C.R.N.C. 7:7-8 and 8:542.

¹⁶³C.R.N.C. 1:601.

¹⁶⁴To the Earl of Loudoun, July 10, 1756, C.R.N.C. 5:595.

¹⁶⁵Session of Feb. 3, 1764, C.R.N.C. 6:1091.

¹⁶⁶To the S.P.G., July 31, 1765, C.R.N.C. 7:103.

¹⁶⁷See Barnett, C.R.N.C. 7:789; Taylor, *ibid.*, 9:326 and 1004.

Bishop Cheshire, who ought to know, has indicated that by the time of the Revolution there were churches in six settlements, which he names: Bath, Edenton, Newbern, Brunswick, Wilmington, Williamsboro—*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 83 (1918), pp. 345ff.

The Clergy: Numbers and Characters

And now what of the clergy in the colony: their numbers and their characters?

About the year 1700, the S.P.G. sent out one Daniel Brett, who, according to Henderson Walker, president of the Governor's Council, and in the absence of a governor, acting governor, behaved well for half a year but then "broke out in an extravagant course."¹⁶⁸ From the fact that Walker requests that some "worthy, good man" be sent "to regain the flock," it may be inferred, though not with certainty, that Brett had departed. When the Rev. John Blair reported to the S.P.G. in January 1704, there were no clergymen in the province but himself, and he would not stay because of the lack of any local provision for a salary.¹⁶⁹

In September 1705, the vestry of St. Paul's parish in Chowan precinct retained Henry Gerrard as minister, but three months later the vestry book mentions scandalous reports of several debauched practices, of which Mr. Gerrard is directed to clear himself by the following May or go. He must have gone, for in May 1708 the Rev. William Gordon is chosen minister.¹⁷⁰ Gordon and James Adams, sent out by the S.P.G., arrived together,¹⁷¹ but in September 1708 Gordon returned to England, not it would seem, because of any misconduct.¹⁷² In August 1710, Adams left for Virginia. The vestry of Caratuck, in a letter to the S.P.G., say that he is departing after two years and five months and that "we shall ever bless that providence that placed him among us." The vestry of Pascotank parish also praises him, and so does Governor Glover.¹⁷³

The next missionary sent out was John Urmstone (sometimes, but not in his reports, spelled Urmiston), the author of voluminous reports and complaints. He seems to have arrived about the time Adams left,¹⁷⁴ and to have served until the first quarter of 1721, returning to England

¹⁶⁸To the Bp. of London, Oct. 21, 1703, C.R.N.C. 1:572. And see Governor Glover to the same, *ibid.*, 1:690 (1708).

¹⁶⁹C.R.N.C. 1:601.

¹⁷⁰C.R.N.C. 1:616, 630, 680.

¹⁷¹C.R.N.C. 1:681.

¹⁷²Governor Glover to Bp. of London, C.R.N.C. 1:690; Gordon's report to S.P.G., *ibid.*, 1:708.

¹⁷³C.R.N.C. 1:728-729; 730; 732-733.

¹⁷⁴Urmstone's first letter to S.P.G., July 7, 1711, mentions "a year's fatigue"; C.R.N.C. 1:763.

in June or July 1721.¹⁷⁵ His wife died in the colony in 1719. It may have been her death, following upon his hardships and disappointments, which made him take to the bottle: an anonymous letter to the S.P.G. of May 1721 refers to him as a notorious drunkard, and accuses him also of swearing and lewdness.¹⁷⁶ In the posts he later served in Maryland and Pennsylvania, he is known to have been a drunkard.¹⁷⁷ But there is something to be said for him in North Carolina. His reports thence give us a picture of a man attempting to create tolerable living conditions for himself and his wife as a means for carrying on his work, and finding it difficult to obtain them; perpetually restive under the hardships of an undeveloped country, the opposition of sectarians, civil commotion, neglect by the proprietors, and the ignorance and dissolute character of the vestrymen upon whom he had to depend; handicapped also by supervening illness; but an indefatigable, if complaining, worker, and a man of considerable acumen. Apart from the anonymous letter written as he was departing, there are no charges of drunkenness or other misconduct, but chiefly of bad temper. One of his vestries tells the S.P.G. of "his great pains and unweared diligence," and Governor Eden, who had mentioned his ill temper and his way of getting himself into avoidable difficulties, testifies later to his diligence.¹⁷⁸

About May 1712, Giles Rainsford arrived to be Urmstone's colleague. In February 1713, he left Chowan to shelter himself in Virginia from the Indians, and there is no evidence that he returned.¹⁷⁹ We know nothing of his qualities, save that he and Urmstone were mutually hostile. After Rainsford's departure, Urmstone seems to have been alone in the colony until the arrival of Ebenezer Taylor from South Carolina in September 1717.¹⁸⁰ Taylor, described by Urmstone as aged and very infirm,¹⁸¹ died in February 1720 of exposure.¹⁸² When Urmstone left in 1721, the colony was bare of clergymen.

¹⁷⁵Governor Eden to S.P.G., April 12, 1721, C.R.N.C. 2:430; Urmstone to S.P.G., July 21, 1721, reporting his safe arrival and requesting employment in England: C.R.N.C. 2:431-432.

¹⁷⁶C.R.N.C. 2:431.

¹⁷⁷Rightmyer in *Md. Hist. Mag.* 44 (Dec. 1949), 242; Manross: *Hist. Am. Ep. Ch.*, 89, 128-129, 170.

¹⁷⁸For Urmstone's reports, see C.R.N.C. 1:763 ff., 773 ff., 884-885, 887-888; 2:125-128, 130-132, 223-224, 247-249, 260-261, 270-272, 278-279, 284-288, 294-295, 304, 309-311, 371-373, 380-382, 431-432. For the praise or blame, see C.R.N.C. 1:849-850, 858; 2:17, 119-120, 228, 269, 430, 431. Bishop Cheshire takes an unfavorable view of Urmstone's character: *Sketches of Ch. Hist. in N. C.*, 62, 65.

¹⁷⁹C.R.N.C. 1:849; 2:16-18, 137-138. And see Bp. Cheshire, *Sketches . . .*, p. 63.

¹⁸⁰See C.R.N.C. 2:200, 269, 294.

¹⁸¹C.R.N.C. 2:295.

¹⁸²C.R.N.C. 2:380-381.

The next arrival was the Rev. Thomas Newman, who came the end of 1721, and lived but six months.¹⁸³

In 1723, The Rev. Thomas Bailey came into the colony from Virginia, and in 1725 the Rev. John Blacknell from England. Governor Everard and Blacknell were at odds with Bailey, whom the governor describes in a letter to the bishop of London as a drunkard, with a bad record in Virginia and Philadelphia.¹⁸⁴ But at this time there was faction in the colony, one group supporting the former governor, Burrington, and one his successor, Everard. Everard's letter to the bishop of London indicates that faction had a part in the differing estimates of the two men, and this is confirmed by a petition of May 1726 from a parish in Bath in behalf of "Mr. Bailey our Pious and Exemplary Minister, who was recommended to us by our late Gov'r Co'll Geo. Burrington and has been in these parts almost 3 years . . ." His "great pains and care" are mentioned, and he is recommended for the £80 which the parish's former ministers have had.¹⁸⁵ In June 1729, we learn from Lieutenant-Governor Gouch of Virginia that at the time there is not one minister in North Carolina,¹⁸⁶ and this statement is repeated in October by Governor Everard.¹⁸⁷

Early in 1731, the crown, which had taken over the colony from the proprietors in 1729, restored Burrington to office as governor. In March 1732, Burrington writes the bishop of London:¹⁸⁸

Dr. [Richard] Marsden continues in the South Part of this Province..... The Rev'd Mr. Bevil Granville nephew to the Lord Lansdowne is also here. He was going to Maryland but he hopes he will continue with us if your Lordship will procure the usual allowance from the Society. These are all the ministers of the Ch' h of Engl'd now in this Gov't.....

Granville settled at Edenton, where he was well liked.¹⁸⁹ The Rev. John La Pierre was at this time at Cape Fear, and Marsden at Onslow. A clergyman benefited in Virginia visited Bertie County, on the Virginia border, once a month. In 1732, these were the only clergymen in the colony: Bevil Granville must have gone.¹⁹⁰ By the end of 1732, the

¹⁸³C.R.N.C. 2:432-433, 531.

¹⁸⁴C.R.N.C. 2:579-581, 604-605 (1725-1726). For the time of Bailey's arrival, see the next following note.

¹⁸⁵C.R.N.C. 2:624-625.

¹⁸⁶Letter to Lords of Trade, C.R.N.C. 3:24.

¹⁸⁷Letter to Bp. of London, C.R.N.C. 3:48. He properly does not include Rev. Mr. Jones of Nansemond Co., Va., supplying a county "next Virginia."

¹⁸⁸C.R.N.C. 3:339.

¹⁸⁹C.R.N.C. 3:340-341, 342.

¹⁹⁰Governor Burrington to the Bp. of London, May 10, 1732, C.R.N.C. 3:342-343.

colony was again without any clergy, except for La Pierre in the extreme south.¹⁹¹ La Pierre moved north to New River early in 1734. Richard Marsden, whom he reports as declining to show his credentials to the South Carolina clergy, replaced him at Cape Fear.¹⁹² Marsden defends himself in a letter to the bishop of London, July 1735 without however mentioning the matter of credentials.¹⁹³ In March 1737, Marsden was back in London, where the bishop refused to receive him, although he brought with him, he says a letter protesting the refusal, commendations from the inhabitants of Cape Fear and from Governor Johnston, who had succeeded Burrington in November 1734.¹⁹⁴

Meanwhile, in April 1735, the Rev. John Boyd reports from Albemarle County. After describing his labors, he says that there are two ministers in the more southern parts, a Mr. Garsia (properly John Garzia) in "pamphire" (Pamlico?), and Mr. Marsden at Cape Fear. It seems certain that Boyd was a drunkard: Commissary Garden of South Carolina makes the charge to the bishop of London, and cites what seems sufficient evidence.¹⁹⁵ In the same letter the commissary mentions but two other ministers, in addition to Boyd, as in North Carolina, though he does not give their names: one at Bath, and one at New Berne. We hear no more of Boyd.

In November 1739, the S.P.G. appointed John Garzia (mentioned above) to serve in Chowan precinct and elsewhere northeast of the Neuse, as required.¹⁹⁶ He was at Bath in April 1742.¹⁹⁷ In that same month we find James Moir (probably the Moyer mentioned a little below), reporting first from Wilmington and later from Brunswick.¹⁹⁸ In November 1744, Clement Hall arrived. But Garzia died about the time of his arrival.¹⁹⁹ Hall settled near Edenton.²⁰⁰ With Moir and Hall in the colony, from perhaps 1746, was the Rev. Christopher Bevis, reported by Governor Johnston in the last quarter of 1748 as having served for the past two years in New Brunswick on the Cape Fear River to the universal satisfaction of the people, and deserving an appointment by the S.P.G.²⁰¹ But of such an appointment, and of Bevis, we hear

¹⁹¹Boyd to S.P.G., C.R.N.C. 3:394; Gov. Burrington to Lords of Trade, *ibid.*, 3:429; La Pierre to Bp. of London, *ibid.*, 3:529-530.

¹⁹²La Pierre to Bp. of London, C.R.N.C. 3:624.

¹⁹³C.R.N.C. 4:10-14.

¹⁹⁴C.R.N.C. 4:244-245.

¹⁹⁵Sept. 6, 1737, C.R.N.C. 4:263-264.

¹⁹⁶C.R.N.C. 4:560.

¹⁹⁷C.R.N.C. 4:604.

¹⁹⁸C.R.N.C. 4:605-606 and 606-607.

¹⁹⁹C.R.N.C. 4:752.

²⁰⁰C.R.N.C. 4:753, 793.

²⁰¹C.R.N.C. 4:876.

nothing further. In the same letter the governor mentions that Moyer (presumably Moir) had left the southern part of the province about two years earlier without leave.

The facts thus far detailed indicate that the first missionary arrived about the year 1700; that, from 1700 until 1730, there were never more than two in the colony, and at times none; that, from 1730 to perhaps 1746, the highest number was three. There is almost no evidence for the period 1746 to 1760: we hear only of a Michael Smith, reporting in 1758 from Johnston County.²⁰²

In January 1760, Governor Dobbs, writing to the S.P.G.²⁰³ mentions favorably missionaries John McDowell, Smith, Alexander Stuart (Stewart), James Reed, and Daniel Earle; of James Moyer (Moir), whom he says the Society has admonished, he hears that "he does very little duty." The governor seems to imply that these six are the only missionaries in the province; and yet later in the same letter he seems to say that there are eight resident clergymen. It may be that there were two men who did not hold mission appointments. The S.P.G. gave men appointed to missions £50 per annum, but also granted £20 per annum for two years to clergymen going out to the colony but not appointed to missions.²⁰⁴ The end of March 1762 Governor Dobbs reports seven men on duty, and two years later, six.²⁰⁵ McDowell died in November 1763.²⁰⁶

Governor Dobbs died March 28, 1765. Tryon, his successor, found five men on duty in July 1765, and names four of them: Reed at New Berne, Earl at Edenton, Stewart at Bath, and Moir, itinerant.²⁰⁷ By the end of April 1767, the number had risen to thirteen: Reed, Earl, and Stewart, already mentioned, but not Moir, who had died the preceding February; George Micklejohn, Andrew Morton, Samuel Fiske, Thomas Filloyd (*sic*), Thomas Burgess, John Barnett, John Wills, James Cosgreve, William Miller, Charles Cupples.²⁰⁸ Morton left about September 1767 to take a parish in Virginia.²⁰⁹

Between April 1767 and Tryon's departure for New York, June 30, 1771, there were additional recruits: John Cramp, Henry John Burgess, Hobart Briggs, James Macartney (McCarthy), Theodore S. Drage, Edward Jones, Francis Johnston, John Alexander. Of the men

²⁰²C.R.N.C. 5:961-962.

²⁰³C.R.N.C. 6:221-223.

²⁰⁴See Tryon to S.P.G., March 20, 1769, C.R.N.C. 8:15.

²⁰⁵C.R.N.C. 6:710, 1039, 1091.

²⁰⁶C.R.N.C. 6:1039.

²⁰⁷To S.P.G., C.R.N.C. 7:102.

²⁰⁸C.R.N.C. 7:457, a list prepared for S.P.G., and a letter.

²⁰⁹C.R.N.C. 7:520-521.

who came in 1767, Cosgrave departed to South Carolina, and Filloyd is no longer listed. But there remained, at Tryon's departure, eighteen.²¹⁰

Under Governor Martin, who succeeded Tryon, Thomas Burgess (called "Sr.") resigned and Charles E. Taylor and Nicholas Christian arrived,²¹¹ and after them, Nathaniel Blount, Charles Pettigrew, and Hezekiah Ford.^{211-a}

The men, whose names we have mentioned as serving in the colony for some period, total 47.²¹² What information have we on their characters?

Facts already given for the men who came before 1760 show Brett, Gerrard, Boyd, undesirable; Urmston, ill-tempered, but diligent; Gordon and Adams, admirable; Granville, satisfactory; the evidence on Bailey and Marsden, indecisive. John Blair was diligent, but would not stay. The service of Rainsford, Taylor, and Newman was brief. Rainsford and Urmston did not like each other. But Urmston's complaints of Rainsford are not of a serious character;^{212-a} Rainsford's of Urmston seem unfair.^{212-b} Newman lived only six months. Taylor seems to have been diligent,^{212-c} though Urmston thought him too feeble to be useful^{212-d}. Blacknell and Bevis seem to have been satisfactory. Clement Hall was an exceptional missionary.²¹³ As to the characters of La Pierre and Garzia, we are uninformed. Moir seems to have been undependable, but not chargeable with serious vices. Michael Smith in-

²¹⁰ See the list of clergy and their posts, dated July 1770, from the N. C. Letter Book of S.P.G., in C.R.N.C. 8:222. Filloyd is not on this list, though his absence from it is not explained by any other record. Cosgrave's going is mentioned by Tryon in a letter to the Bp. of London of March 20, 1769, C.R.N.C. 8:20. Two Burgess names, identified only as Sr. and Jr., appear on the list. Bishop Cheshire has identified them as Thomas, and his son, Henry John: *Sketches*, 75, 83, 84.

²¹¹ C.R.N.C. 9:20-23 (Taylor); 326 (Burgess); 1022-1023 (Christian).

^{211-a} As to Blount and Pettigrew, see Bishop Cheshire, *Sketches*, 84. For all three—Blount, Pettigrew, and Ford—see Sarah McCulloch Lemmon, "The Genesis of the P. E. Diocese of N. C.," in *N. C. Historical Review*, Vol. 28 (1951), p. 449. References to the first two appear in C.R.N.C. 10:122 and 237.

²¹² These 47 names are all of those mentioned in the Colonial Records as being in the colony, save two. One of the two is the Rev. Benj. Dennis, who writes to S.P.G. from Goose Creek (northern Va.) in 1711, and seems merely to have made a brief excursion into Pamlico with Governor Hyde during the Cary rebellion: C.R.N.C. 1:803-804. The other, described only as the Rev. Mr. Holmes, is noticed in the Legislative Journals as invited to preach before the Burgesses on February 10, 1740: C.R.N.C. 4:498; but there seems to be no other mention of him.

^{212-a} C.R.N.C. 1:888; 2:78, 127-128.

^{212-b} C.R.N.C. 1:858; 2:17; and Urmston's rejection of them, C.R.N.C. 2:131-132.

^{212-c} C.R.N.C. 2:331-333, 380-381; Cheshire, *Sketches*, 64-65.

^{212-d} C.R.N.C. 2:295, 304.

²¹³ See the tribute to him in H. P. Thompson, *Into All Lands*, (S.P.C.K. 1951), 57-58. Bp. Cheshire, *Sketches*, 70-72; E. L. Pennington, *The Rev. Clement Hall* (Hartford, 1937).

curred the displeasure of S.P.G. by removing without permission from one parish to another, but seems to have had testimony to his good behavior in each.²¹⁴

We have thus far accounted for twenty men, leaving twenty-seven who came after 1760. For seven of these latter, we have neither complaint nor commendation: Stewart, Flloyd, the two Burgesses, Alexander, Taylor, Christian. For nine we have praise from the governor of the day and no complaint: McDowell, Reed, Micklejohn, Morton, Fiske, Wills, Briggs, Macartney, Jones. For two more we have the approval of governor and vestry represented by induction: Cupples and Cramp. Another, Drage, Governor Tryon would have liked to induct; Johnston he presents.

Governor Dobbs commends Mr. Earl, but a fellow-missionary, Taylor, complains of him as refusing for a time to allow Taylor to use his pulpit, and demanding fees from the poor; he implies also that Earl's "manner of life" is bad. Barnett, commended by Governor Tryon in January 1766, is reported by his colleague Taylor in 1771 as having resigned to flee into Virginia, charged with crimes too base to mention. Cosgreve, after a promising beginning in 1766, departed to South Carolina in 1769, to the joy of Governor Tryon, who reports him to the bishop of London as "a scandal and a disgrace to his order." Miller is reported by Governor Dobbs as changing from parish to parish, under strong suspicion of irregular living.

Nathaniel Blount, Hezekiah Ford, and Charles Pettigrew, licensed for North Carolina in 1773, 1774, and 1775 respectively, were working in the colony when the Revolution came, but we lack any official estimate of their work; naturally, since the last royal governor was concerned near the end of his tenure with other matters than appraisals of missionaries.

Of the twenty-seven, then, three or perhaps four were unsatisfactory, and two of these seem to have been really bad characters. In the whole forty-seven, there were five definitely bad characters, and another four may have been of this description. On a percentage basis, the maximum of undesirables was about one-fifth; the minimum about one-ninth. The record may not be one to cause pride, but also it is not one to warrant scathing condemnation.²¹⁵

²¹⁴C.R.N.C. 5:961-962; 6:58-60.

²¹⁵The evidence for the men arriving after 1760 is scattered through volumes 6 to 9, inclusive, of the Colonial Records, as follows: C.R.N.C. 6:235, 241, 312-313, 999, 1026, 1039-1041; 7:259-260, 261, 704-705, 786; 8:12-16, 20, 45, 65, 150-151, 174, 199, 217-218, 219-220, 220-221; 9:20-23, 61, 305.

We still lack a comprehensive account of the policies and activities of S.P.G. in recruiting for the colonies, although the main policies are outlined in the 250th anniversary history published in 1951.²¹⁶ These were to use the machinery of the ecclesiastical courts for publicity; to require of sponsors information as to the marital status, personal character, learning, zeal, loyalty to the government and conformity to the Church, of all applicants.

There is every reason to suppose that the Society screened applicants to the best of its ability, and that its ability was adequate. Why then were the results not better? We do not know. In England the Rev. Miles Gale, father of Christopher Gale, chief justice of the colony, interested himself to have clergy sent out.^{216-a} In 1714, he wrote the S.P.G.:^{216-b}

I have made all the Enquiry in my power after some to go as missionaries They like the terms but dread yt voyage and the heat of that climate.

That it was not easy to obtain recruits appears from a letter of 1760 to the Society from Governor Dobbs, in which, presumably referring to information given him by the Society, he regrets "that there are such difficulties in procuring clergymen & schoolmasters of good character to come over to this Province. . ."²¹⁷ In 1765, the Rev. Mr. Reed tells the Society²¹⁸ that the salary ("stipend") in the province is insufficient to attract clergymen from England. Certainly the living conditions, especially in the earlier part of the colonial period, were hard. Yet Governor Tryon was able to raise the number of men on duty from the five, who were serving when he became governor in July 1765, to eighteen by the time of his departure, June 30, 1771, after deduction for deaths and removals. Perhaps the considerable increase in stipend effected by the Act of 1762 had an influence. But certainly Tryon's personal interest and shepherding must have had a large one: there is no substitute for leadership.

Governor Dobbs told the Lords of Trade in 1763 that "most those [sic] who come over ordained in England come to get bread without a View to the cure of souls."²¹⁹ He was explaining the reluctance of the colonists to allow the crown, via the governor, to present and in-

²¹⁶H. P. Thompson, *Into All Lands*, 25-27. See also Col. Dudley's advice to the Society, *ibid.*, 22, Col. Morris' at 23, and Keith's at 25.

^{216-a}See his letter of August 26, 1712 (to the Bishop of London?), C.R.N.C. 1:867-868.

^{216-b}C.R.N.C. 2:133.

²¹⁷January 22, C.R.N.C. 6:223.

²¹⁸July 10, C.R.N.C. 7:99.

²¹⁹March 7, C.R.N.C. 6:971.

duct, and his remark seems to imply that the reluctance is connected with a low opinion of the men offered them. Now it is not unlikely that many or most of the men who volunteered for service in North Carolina did not hold good livings at home;²²⁰ but that does not support the governor's inference. Service in North Carolina being less attractive than service in other colonies, it may well be that the chief motive for accepting it was real missionary zeal. This motive of course does not necessarily apply to men who drifted into North Carolina from other colonies.

Handicaps to the Clergy: Physical Conditions. Dissenters

Two major difficulties of the clergy deserve more notice than has been accorded them thus far: physical conditions, and the opposition of dissenters.

Among the recurrent themes of missionary reports are the distances to be traversed, and the risks and obstacles encountered. Missionary operations were confined to the eastern one-third of the modern state, in which water obstacles were at their maximum. Caratuck (Currituck) is so large, and so much divided by water, that the Rev. Mr. Adams, after six months of residence, had not yet been able to get into all its corners.²²¹ LaPierre, in New Hanover, in the extreme south, complains of "a scattered people."²²² Boyd, in the northeast, writes:²²³

The parish I live in is of a vast extent being upwards of 100 miles in length and 50 in breadth. I preached in seven different places which obliges me to ride every month 260 miles.

Moir states²²⁴ that the part of the province where he is stationed (New Hanover county) is about 150 miles in breadth along the coast, and that it extends inland in some places 150 miles. The inhabitants are much scattered, making it impossible to serve them as he would wish. Hall reports²²⁵ that he is to officiate in the court house at Edenton, till a church be built, two Sundays in succession, and to ride 30 to 40

²²⁰Exceptions, if we may accept their statements, were the Rev. Giles Rainsford, and the Rev. Alexander Stewart: *see C.R.N.C.* 2:122 and 7:493.

²²¹C.R.N.C. 1:721.

²²²C.R.N.C. 3:530.

²²³C.R.N.C. 4:7.

²²⁴C.R.N.C. 4:605.

²²⁵C.R.N.C. 4:753.

miles every third Sunday to hold services elsewhere, "the Parish being of vast extent and the Titheables about 1200."²²⁶ McDowell reports:²²⁷

....here our Chapels, or rather people's houses where we are obliged to attend, are more than 30, some of them 40 miles distant from the Centre of the Parish, and often we have to ride 15 or 20 miles without seeing a house to flee for shelter from a thunder shower which are very severe and very frequent here in the summer....

And in a later letter he says:²²⁸

My Parish of St. Phillip's runs from the mouth of Cape Fear River along the sea side about 40 miles to little river which divides this from So. Carolina; then about 45 miles along the South Line; then joining Bladen County, runs about 45 miles to the northwest branch of Cape Fear River; then down Sd. Northwest branch, to the Ferry opposite Wilmington, about twenty miles and from that down to the river's mouth about thirty miles.

Stewart relates²²⁹ that, even after a division, his parish is about 70 miles long on the south side and 30 on the north side of the river Pamlico,²³⁰ which he is obliged to cross in all weathers at least once a week, although it is from four to seven miles wide. The Rev. Nicholas Christian, as late as 1774, relates²³¹ that he holds services in five places, two of which are near 30, and the others more than 40 miles, from his residence.

For such journeys a horse was a necessity, yet expensive to procure and to maintain, and might be stolen.

We have made some mention of the dissenters in estimating the religious affiliations of the colonists, and in other connections. First in the field, as the result of a visit by William Edmundson in 1672, and later by George Fox,²³² were the Quakers, described by the Rev. John

²²⁶The titheables or taxables were all free males of over sixteen years, and all slaves, male or female, of the same age, taxable of course to their owners: Raper, *North Carolina* (1904), 146-147; C.R.N.C. 3:xiv (ed. intro.)

²²⁷C.R.N.C. 6:235.

²²⁸C.R.N.C. 6:728.

²²⁹C.R.N.C. 6:734-735.

²³⁰Properly the west branch of Pamlico Sound. The river Tar, and two smaller streams, discharge into it.

²³¹C.R.N.C. 9:1022-1023.

²³²Henderson Walker, president of the Council, to Bp. of London, Oct. 21, 1703, C.R.N.C. 1:572, mentions Fox. Bishop Cheshire, in *The Fundamental Constitutions*, HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, I(1932), 204ff., tells us that he consulted Bowden's *History of the Friends* for his account of the earliest Quakers in the colony, and also Edmundson's *Journal*, and Fox's *Journal*. And see Thompson, *Into All Lands*, 55-56; Manross, *Hist. Am. Epis. Church* (1950), p. 88.

Blair in 1704²³³ as "the most powerful enemies to Church government, but a people very ignorant of what they profess," by which latter phrase he presumably meant that their doctrine was vague. Until the end of 1725, at least, they seem to have been the only kind of dissenter in the colony, except for a few Presbyterians.²³⁴ In 1733, Governor Burrington wrote the Lords of Trade that the Quakers in the colony were numerous, prosperous, hospitable, and kind to new settlers.²³⁵ Their hostility to the Church was not confined to legislation; the Rev. Clement Hall complains in 1745 that they are "very guilty of railing against the Church & Minister even in Public."²³⁶

There seem to have been some Presbyterians in the early settlements north of Albemarle Sound, for the Rev. James Adams mentions them in 1708 as aiding the Quakers in opposition to the Church.²³⁷ On the other hand, the Rev. John Blair, reporting in 1704, and mentioning the Quakers, as shown above, does not mention Presbyterians, but rather a group of people "something like Presbyterian." Whether or not present in the early settlements, the Presbyterians did not become numerous or influential in the colony until the last decade or two of the colonial period, when the Scotch-Irish streamed in from Pennsylvania and elsewhere. In 1765, they are mentioned by Governor Tryon as being in the western counties; in 1769, he reports three counties as predominantly Presbyterian; and in 1771 he calls them the strongest "party" (group) in the House of Burgesses.²³⁸ The colonial sources do not distinguish them, in general, from other dissenters.

It is quite otherwise with the Anabaptists, today known as Baptists, who are mentioned frequently and almost always with disparagement. The Rev. Mr. Moir says²³⁹ that he always found the Baptist

²³³To S.P.G., C.R.N.C. 1:601. As to their opposition to the Church and Churchmen in the provincial government, see also Rev. Mr. Adams, *ibid.*, 686-687 and 720-721; Col. Jenings *ibid.*, 688; Rev. Mr. Gordon, *ibid.*, 708-711; Rev. Mr. Urmstone, *ibid.*, 765, 767-768; Governor Hyde, *ibid.*, 802.

²³⁴Governor Everard to Bp. of London Jan. 25, 1725/26, C.R.N.C. 2:605, and see the similar statement by Governor Eden in 1721: C.R.N.C. 2:430. Neither governor mentions the Presbyterians, but there were some in the province at this time: Adams to S.P.G., Sept. 18, 1708, C.R.N.C. 1:687. But see the next paragraph of the text.

²³⁵Jan. 1, 1732/33, C.R.N.C. 3:429-430.

²³⁶To S.P.G. Feb. 27, 1744/45, C.R.N.C. 4:753. Cf. their reference to the Rev. Thomas Clayton in Philadelphia as "the Minister of the Doctrine of Devils"; Perry, *Hist. Am. Episc. Ch.* I:225.

²³⁷Sept. 18, C.R.N.C. 1:687. Bishop Cheshire, *Sketches*, 56, says:

"A few Presbyterians were in Pasquotank, but they all conformed to the Church under the godly ministry of Mr. Adams."

²³⁸C.R.N.C. 7:102, 540-541; 8:527.

²³⁹To S.P.G., Nov. 22, 1748, C.R.N.C. 4:878.

teachers (he is referring to preachers, for he mentions sermons) "to be as grossly ignorant as those they pretend to teach." The Rev. Michael Smith refers²⁴⁰ to their "Enthusiastical, incoherent harangues." The Rev. Mr. Stewart mentions²⁴¹ their "notion of Inspirations, impulses, visions, & of their sect being the peculiar elect of God." The Rev. Mr. Taylor says²⁴² that although ignorant, "they busy themselves with the most mysterious parts of Scripture." In another letter he describes them as follows:²⁴³

[They] have great influence over the weak part of the world, by persuading them that they possess a more extraordinary share of divine grace and favor than the rest of mankind accompanied by extraordinary influence of the Holy Spirit, and pretend to a familiar intercourse with the Son of God.

The Anabaptists were known alternatively as "New Lights,"²⁴⁴ and seem to have been numerous among fishermen,²⁴⁵ although by no means confined to the seacoast: they appear in reports from interior counties;²⁴⁶ and are spoken of as overrunning the province.²⁴⁷ There were other, wilder, sects to which also the term New Light was applied.²⁴⁸

The only mention of Methodists is by the Rev. James Reed in 1761, who reports:²⁴⁹

The Methodists of late have given me a good deal of trouble along the Borders of my parish by preaching up the inexpediency of Human Learning & the practice of moral virtue & the great expediency of Dreams, Visions & immediate Declarations. I have labored much to stop their progress & I think with great success.

Six months later he writes²⁵⁰ that the fervor of the Methodists is much abated, and the little ground they gained will in a few months be lost. "These strolling teachers were first imported from New England from whence we have received the greatest part of the dissenters."

What the Anglican Church in America might have had bishops been on hand in the colonies to ordain, direct, and encourage, and to

²⁴⁰ Sept. 2, 1758, C.R.N.C. 5:962.

²⁴¹ Oct. 10, 1760, C.R.N.C. 6:316.

²⁴² Aug. 20, 1771, C.R.N.C. 9:23.

²⁴³ May 17, 1774, C.R.N.C. 9:1003.

²⁴⁴ MacDowell, C.R.N.C. 6:730; Taylor, *ibid.*, 9:23.

²⁴⁵ MacDowell, C.R.N.C. 6:730; Tryon, *ibid.*, 7:102.

²⁴⁶ Edgecomb, C.R.N.C. 4:878; Johnston, *ibid.*, 5:961-962; Granville, *ibid.*, 8:85; Northampton, *ibid.*, 9:23.

²⁴⁷ C.R.N.C. 6:316.

²⁴⁸ C.R.N.C. 7:286.

²⁴⁹ June 25, to S.P.G., C.R.N.C. 6:565. He was in Newbern, Craven Co.

²⁵⁰ Dec. 26, C.R.N.C. 6:594-595.

overcome prejudice, it is idle, as well as melancholy, to consider. But it is important to recognize that the English State, not the Church, was to blame. In the same letter to the Lords of Trade in response to their request for an opinion on one of the North Carolina Church Acts (presumably that of 1754 usually known as the Act of 1755)—in which he alludes to the opinion of the crown's law officers that ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the colonies was vested in the crown, and mentions his unwillingness to seek a patent of jurisdiction like that which Bishop Gibson, his immediate predecessor in the see of London had enjoyed—Thomas Sherlock, bishop of London from 1748 to 1761, describes his efforts to interest the crown in creating a bishopric in America. First, he saw the king, and obtained his leave to apply to his ministers. He wrote the ministers, but they never granted a meeting. Then he obtained a royal order to the ministers to consider the matter. They did consider it, but took no action. Then he obtained the king's consent to put the matter before His Majesty in Council, i. e. before the highest agency of government in the land: the Privy Council. He did so some six or seven years before the date of his letter (which was written February 19, 1759), but had heard nothing.²⁵¹

Governor Dobbs five times urged the necessity of one or more bishoprics for North America.²⁵² The S.P.G. missionaries were also interested. In 1749, the Rev. Clement Hall writes the S.P.G.²⁵³ that he hears that a bishop, "who is much wanted & by all good men earnestly desired, is about to be sent over & settled in Virginia." He asks to be informed whether or not the report be true. In 1768, the Rev. Mr. Cupples, after mentioning the presence of some "Ranting Anabaptists" in his area, says:²⁵⁴

I am fully persuaded, that if we could have a Bishop here in America to inspect the Clergy and carry on the Discipline of the Churches towards the offenders, Dissention [sic] would soon, by the blessing of God be at an end. . .

The absence of bishops from colonial America was a major misfortune of the Anglican Communion, the effects of which in the United States are visible today, not only in lost territory and souls, but as well in the government of the Church. The causes of the calamity are

²⁵¹C.R.N.C. 6:12-13. See also the unsigned and undated letter on another Act (that of November 3, 1762, it would seem) in C.R.N.C. 9:83-84.

²⁵²Jan. 4, 1755, to the Lords of Trade, C.R.N.C. 5:315; Jan. 22, 1760, to S.P.G., *ibid.*, 6:222; March 30, 1762, to S.P.G., *ibid.*, 6:709-710; March 7, 1763, to the Lords of Trade, *ibid.*, 6:971; March 29, 1764, to the same, *ibid.*, 6:1026.

²⁵³Sept. 11, C.R.N.C. 4:924.

²⁵⁴To S.P.G., April 9, C.R.N.C. 7:705.

now well known, and must not detain us here.²⁵⁵ In North Carolina, the lack of a bishop operated conjointly with purely local causes to make the Church weak: the paucity of priests; a lack of zeal among the laity; the indifference of the proprietors and of royal governors save Dobbs and Tryon; the opposition of dissenters.²⁵⁶ The Church was not firmly enough founded to withstand the shock of the Revolution, to which we now turn briefly.

The Revolution and Just Afterwards²⁵⁷

There seem to have been eleven priests of the Church of England in North Carolina in 1775. Three remained loyal to the crown; the sympathies of two are uncertain from the evidence, and there is no record as to one other; five joined the patriots. But whichever cause the ministers espoused, the struggle swept away their moorings. Only two remained at work: Daniel Earl at St. Paul's Edenton until his resignation in 1778, and Charles Pettigrew, who succeeded him there and ministered elsewhere as he could. The entire flimsy Church organization dissolved. The revolutionary legislation did away with "establishment," although it left to every religious society the glebes and other lands, and the church buildings, which it had previously owned. Nevertheless, some counties sold Church glebes and lands and kept the proceeds, and vestries vanished; with their disappearance the care of church buildings ceased.

In 1790, there were five Episcopal priests in the state, three of whom, Micklejohn, Blount, and Pettigrew, were colonial survivors. Pettigrew was elected bishop in 1794 by a convention of five priests and eight laymen, meeting at Tarborough, and he set out in the summer of 1795 to Philadelphia for consecration by the bishops to meet there in General Convention. The yellow fever epidemic raging in Philadelphia caused him to turn back. He did not attend the postponed Convention

²⁵⁵The reader may consult Addison: *The Episcopal Church*, 53-57; Mansross: *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (1950), pp. 154-171, for good summaries.

²⁵⁶See the excellent article by Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, "The Genesis of the P. E. Diocese of North Carolina," in *N. C. Hist. Rev.* (Oct. 1951), Vol. 28, p. 444.

²⁵⁷The account which follows is based upon the Lemmon essay cited in the next preceding note; Bennett H. Wall, "Charles Pettigrew, First Bishop-Elect of The North Carolina Episcopal Church," *N. C. Hist. Rev.* (Jan. 1951), Vol. 28, p. 15; Joseph Blount Cheshire, *Sketches of Ch. Hist. in N. C.*, and brief passages in Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.* (1901), p. 25, and in Thompson, *Into All Lands* (1951), p. 93.

of 1799, also held in Philadelphia, or that of 1801 in Trenton, or that of 1804 in New York, assigning ill health as the reason, but it is possible that lack of means, or discouragement, were the true causes. He died in 1807 unconsecrated. From his death to 1816, Blount was the only priest in the state. He died in 1816. But by 1817 new men had come in, and a convention at New Berne, attended by nine delegates representing four parishes, invited Bishop Richard Channing Moore of Virginia to take North Carolina under his charge, and sent three clergymen to the General Convention of 1817. This was the commencement of new life. In April 1823, John Stark Ravenscroft of Virginia was chosen bishop and consecrated, May 22nd, in Philadelphia. At last the Church in North Carolina had a bishop, and could go forward.

Appendix

Clergymen Serving in Colonial North Carolina

With references to the volumes and page numbers of the *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, where their names appear.

Christian names, where lacking in the *Carolina Records*, have been supplied from the lists of clergymen licensed overseas, as published in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE: Vol. XIII(1944), 128-143; Vol. XVI(1947), 318-349; Vol. XVII(1948), 174-182; and *ibid.*, 207-250. Biographical sketches appear in the listings in Vols. XVI and XVII.

Names starred (*) indicate clergymen paid in part by the S.P.G.

SURNAME followed by Christian name	References to volumes and pages of <i>Colonial Records of North Carolina</i>
A	
*ADAMS, James (died Oct. 30, 1710)	1:681-682, 686-687, 689, 719-721, 722, 729, 730, 732, 733-734, 884-885, 2:292.
ALEXANDER, John	8:45, 50, 222.
B	
BAILEY, Thomas	2:579-580, 581, 604-605, 624-625.
*BARNETT, John	7:161-164, 262, 457, 458, 514-515, 515- 516, 789-790. 8:13, 20, 45, 228-229. 9:20-23.
BEVIS, Christopher	4:876, 877.
*BLACKNELL, or BLACKNALL, John	2:579, 604-605.
BLAIR, John	1:597, 600-603.
*BLOUNT, Nathaniel (died Sept. 1816)	10:64. [See Lawrence F. London, in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XX(1951), 273, for biographical sketch.]
*BOYD, John (died May 19, 1738)	3:339-340, 394. 4:7, 263-265.
BRETT, Daniel	1:572.
*BRIGGS, Hobart	8:13-14, 20, 45, 50, 63-64. 9:305, 306-307.
*BURGESS ("Jr."), Henry John	9:326.
*BURGESS ("Sr."), Thomas	7:457. 8:45, 50.

SURNAME followed by
Christian nameReferences to volumes and pages of
*Colonial Records of North Carolina***C**

- *CHRISTIAN, Nicholas 9:1022-1023.
 *COSGREVE, or COSGRAVE, James 7:260, 261, 457, 458.
 8:20.
 *CRAMP, John 8:13, 45, 221.
 *CUPPLES, or KUPPLES, Charles 7:457, 458, 704-705. [See HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XX(1951), 273, for biographical sketch.]
 (died c.1785)

D

- *DRAGE, Theodore Swain 8:150-151, 155, 179-181, 196, 202-210,
 217-218, 220-221, 502-507.

E

- *EARL, Daniel 6:222, 240-241, 980.
 (died 1790) 7:7, 102, 115, 192-193, 264, 457, 701.
 8:542.
 9:20-23, 1251.
 10:237-238. [Biographical sketch in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XX(1951), 273.]

F

- *FISKE, Samuel 7:456, 457, 872.
 8:14.
 7:457.
 FLLOYD, or FLOYD, Thomas 10:505. [His license from the Bishop of London for North Carolina was dated Sept. 29, 1774. Listed by Sarah McC. Lemmon in *N. C. Hist. Review*, Vol. 28 (Jan., 1951), p. 15, as being in North Carolina, 1775-1776.]
 *FORD, Hezekiah

G

- *GARZIA, John 4:560, 604-605, 752-753, 796.
 ("died Nov. 29, 1744, from fall from horse while visiting the sick.")
 GERRARD, Henry 1:616, 630.
 *GORDON, William 1:677-678, 680, 681, 684-686, 689, 690,
 700, 701, 708-715.
 2:128.
 *GRANVILLE, Bevil 3:339-342.

H

- *HALL, Clement 4:752-753, 793, 794, 872-873, 875, 924,
 (died Jan. 1759) 925, 1314-1315. [During his ministry,
 1744-1759, he baptized 10,000 persons.]

References to volumes and pages of
Colonial Records of North Carolina

SURNAME followed by
Christian name

J

- 8:50, 221.
8:23-24, 65, 220.
- *JOHNSTON, Francis
*JONES, Edward

L

- 3:342, 391-392, 529-530, 623-625.
- *LAPIERRE, John

Mc

- 7:689.
8:14, 45, 85-86, 222.
9:305, 306-307.
6:221, 224-226, 232-233, 235-239, 537-
538, 552-558, 561, 567-568, 728-731,
966-967, 977-978, 1039, 1041.
- *McCARTNEY, or MACARTNEY,
James
- *McDOWELL, or MACDOWELL,
John
(died 1763)

M

- 1:689.
2:339, 342, 391-392.
4:10-14, 244-245.
7:259-260, 261-262, 457, 519-520.
10:646. [Biographical sketch in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XX (1951), 274.]
6:1039.
7:457.
4:603-604, 605-608, 621-622, 754-756,
791-792, 794, 795, 872, 876, 878, 923,
1111.
6:222, 233-234, 316-317, 552, 578, 710,
735, 978-980, 994-995, 1039, 1042,
1050-1053.
7:102, 145, 265-266, 458.
7:252-253, 260, 424, 457, 520-521.
8:15, 20. [Biographical sketch in Nelson R. Burr, *The Anglican Church in New Jersey* (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1954), pp. 627-629.]
- MARSDEN, Richard
- *MEIKLEJOHN, or MICKLEJOHN,
George
[c.1717—c.1819]
- *MILLER, William
- *MOIR, or MOYER, James
(died, Feb. 1767)
- *MORTON, Andrew

N

- 2:432-433, 531.
- *NEWMAN, Thomas
(died 1723)

P

- 10:496. [See *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 515-516, for sketch and sources.]
- *PETTIGREW, Charles
(March 20, 1743-April 8, 1807)

SURNAME followed by
Christian nameSURNAME followed by
Christian name**R**

*RAINSFORD, Giles

1:857-860.
2:17-18, 53-55, 75-76, 121-123, 138, 152-
153, 245, 288.*REED, or READ, or REID, James
(died May, 1777)6:222, 230-232, 565, 594-595, 745, 966,
990-991, 999, 1047-1048, 1060-1061.
7:97-99, 102, 126-127, 154, 241-242, 457,
689, 750.
9:5-6, 238-244, 246-247, 248, 305, 317,
341, 815, 1014-1015.
10:115-116, 153, 238, 428.
[Licensed as "John Reid," April 1,
1745, for North Carolina, by the Bishop
of London.]**S**

SMITH, Michael

5:961-962.

*STEWART, or STUART, Alexander

6:222, 242-243, 315-316, 562-564, 734-
735, 976-977, 995-996.
7:3, 102, 126-127, 263-264, 457, 492-496,
522.
8:12, 51-52.
9:7.**T**

*TAYLOR, Charles Edward

9:20-23, 325-327, 1003-1004.
10:169.*TAYLOR, Ebenezer
(died, Feb. 1720)

2:246, 294-295, 331-333, 430.

U*URMSTON, or URMISTON, John
("Burned to death in 1732" in N. C.)1:763-772, 773-775, 829-830, 849-850,
850-851, 884-885, 887-888.
2:17-18, 76-78, 116-117, 119-121, 125-128,
130-132, 137, 138, 143-144, 151, 176-
177, 185-186, 187, 200, 218-220, 223-
224, 227-228, 247-249, 260-261, 269-
270, 270-272, 278-279, 284-288, 293-
295, 304, 309-311, 371-374, 380-382,
416-417, 430-432.**W**

*WILLS, John

7:456, 457, 786.
8:13, 45, 174, 199, 219-220, 220-221.

The Social Attitudes of the American Episcopal Church During Two Decades, 1919-1939

By Robert Moats Miller*

Part I: The Decade, 1919-1929

HE decade following World War I has been termed the "Roaring Twenties," the "Golden Twenties," the "Era of Wonderful Nonsense," the "Jazz Age," the "Flapper Age," and the "Aspirin Age." None of these appellations is entirely accurate, for the period is exceedingly complicated, baffling, and paradoxical; and the historian attempting to interpret the 'twenties must come to his reader, like St. Denis, with his head in his hands.

Curiously, however, most commentators have agreed on a single, simple interpretation concerning the role of the Protestant churches in the decade. They have painted a picture free of shadows and nuances. It might be said that these commentators concur that for American Protestantism the 'twenties were the "Age of the Babbittian Captivity."

The usual interpretation goes something like this. The businessman was master of America, and the churches, like the eunuchs of old, adorned, without seriously disturbing, their master's establishment. The churches rendered unto George F. Babbitt the things that were Babbitt's, leaving precious little for the Lord. But then, according to the gospel of Barton and Babson, the Lord was a sort of glorified Rotarian anyhow. "Come weal, come woe, my status is quo" came perilously near to being written into the profession of faith, Pep replaced prayer; *savoir-faire* became a substitute for faith. Perhaps the churches still admonished men not to lay up treasures for heaven, but a man was considered well on the way there if he laid up a Stutz Bearcat or two in his garage. To speak less obliquely, after World War I, the churches lost their questing spirit and crusading zeal, equated the United States

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with the Promised Land, embraced the materialistic standards and high pressure techniques of the business community, and sank into contented corpulence.

The purpose of the present inquiry is to test the validity of this thesis in regard to one major denomination. What, then, were the social attitudes of the "Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America" in five areas of social concern: war and peace, labor, civil liberties, race relations, and the general merits of the social order?

I.

The issue of war and peace loomed very large in the thinking of the Episcopal Church in the peaceful 'twenties. To begin with, the League of Nations was supported in convention, pulpit, and press. In 1919, the General Convention endorsed the League, and these resolutions, restrained in wording, were transmitted to the Senate.¹ Dioceses also gave their approval, as did the bishops of Pittsburgh, Connecticut, Florida, Vermont, Albany, Michigan, North Carolina, Erie, Maine, and Spokane.

"For the honor of our country . . ." believed Bishop Benjamin Brewster of Maine, "for the victory of reason over barbarism, for the cause of Christ and His suffering members, and for the doctrine of love which He taught, let us raise our voices for the acceptance of the League of Nations."²

Further, the Lambeth Conference of 1920 termed the League the most promising and systematic attempt to promote the ideal of the family of nations ever projected, and the Episcopal Church Congress, meeting in New York, May 1919, evidenced support. The *Living Church* defended the League in trenchant tones. It branded as traitors to their country those who opposed the League for partisan reasons, and when the Senate's rejection became final, the editors cried, "This is the day of America's shame before the world and at the bar of history."³ The *Southern Churchman* believed the

"objections and criticisms of the League of Nations proceeding from the Senate chamber and certain newspapers may be ascribed to narrow-minded partisanship, to sheer selfishness or to moral cowardice, but they will have their evil effect."⁴

¹In fairness it should be observed that a very strong endorsement of the League was rejected in favor of a more moderate statement.

²*Southern Churchman* (July 5, 1919), 5.

³*Living Church* (March 27, 1920), 701.

⁴*Southern Churchman* (June 28, 1919), 4.

Episcopal spokesmen were active in the campaigns of the Federal Council of Churches, the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, the Church Peace Union, and other cooperative religious groups in their efforts to secure the Senate's acceptance of the League. It is true that some Church leaders such as Dr. Roland C. Smith, rector of historic St. John's Church, Washington, D. C., opposed the League. It is further true that some Episcopal groups and papers hedged. On the whole, however, the Episcopal Church gave full and generous support to the cause of American membership in this international body.

It is commonly believed that with the rejection of the Treaty of Versailles the United States turned its back on the world and sank suddenly into a shell of selfish isolation. Whatever truth this thesis has for America as a whole, it does not jibe with the attitude of the Episcopal Church. Episcopal spokesman did not push the League completely out of their thoughts, but generally speaking the League was overshadowed by other agencies and techniques as an instrument for world peace. For instance, several Church groups and the General Conventions of 1925 and 1928 endorsed the Permanent Court for International Justice. Bishop Charles H. Brent testified in support of the Court before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and in 1926 Bishops Brent and William T. Manning were among those leaders who petitioned President Coolidge to secure American membership in the Court. The Episcopal press was also on record.

Although the League and the World Court received the sanction of the Episcopal Church, some enthusiasm was engendered also by the Pact of Paris. This agreement was signed at Paris by representatives of the United States and fourteen other powers on August 27, 1928, and approved by the Senate on January 15, 1929. The signatories agreed to renounce war as an instrument of national policy. The General Convention of 1928 adopted a resolution praising the Pact, and Episcopal churchmen signed petitions in its defense. A portion of the Episcopal Church press recorded its support, although the tough-minded editors of the *Living Church* regarded it "as an essentially futile gesture, a jumble of high-sounding but meaningless words."⁶

The Episcopal Church sought to preserve world peace through American participation in the League, the World Court, and the Pact of Paris. It further believed permanent peace was impossible so long as nations prepared for war. Hence the cause of disarmament was close

⁶*Living Church* (Aug. 11, 1928), 484. Earlier in the decade, however, this journal viewed the idea of "outlawing" war with sympathy.

to the hearts of some Episcopal churchmen, and they encouraged every international conference looking toward the reduction of weapons of war. The most signal gathering of this type in the 'twenties was the Washington Conference. Accepting the invitation of the United States, nine nations met at Washington on November 12, 1921. There resulted certain agreements regarding the Pacific and the Far East. Further, limitations were set on the construction of capital ships. In 1922, the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies expressed gratification at the calling of the Conference, and stated sympathy with its purpose. Episcopal clergymen signed petitions which endorsed the meeting and urged the utmost naval reductions. The Episcopal Church press gave its approval, although the editorials in the *Living Church* were rather restrained.

The League, World Court, Pact of Paris, and Washington Conference were all warmly greeted by a strong and vocal element. From time to time, also, in resolutions, editorials, sermons, and petitions, Episcopalian denounced war as unchristian, upheld the rights of conscientious objectors, protested military budgets, urged greater cooperation with other nations, and, in a few instances—Paul Jones, John Nevin Sayre, Irwin St. John Tucker, for example—adopted positions of outright pacifism. It is true that Episcopal anti-war spirit did not match that of some other religious groups. For instance, the Episcopal General Conventions were not as outspoken as the Methodist General Conferences. Nor was the Episcopal Church press as pacifistic as that of some denominations.* And yet, Bowie and Brent, Shipler and Spofford, Parsons and Brewster, Lathrop and Gilbert, and a host of other Church spokesmen threw themselves into the peace crusade with high hopes and noble zeal, recognizing that if America was to keep out of war, war must first be kept out of the world.

II.

The condition and status of the laborer was one of the gravest problems facing American society in the 'twenties, and a study of the social attitudes of the Episcopal Church must inquire into what extent Episcopalian were occupied with circumstances in mine and mill, field and factory.

*The *Churchman* and the *Southern Churchman* were quite outspoken in their anti-war position, while the *Living Church* and *American Church Monthly* continued to endorse adequate defense preparations and to uphold the thesis that *some* wars were justified.

Long before 1919, the Episcopal Church had recorded its approval of labor reforms. In that strife-filled year, however, the General Convention merely mumbled a few bromides about Christian brotherhood in industrial relations.⁷ It was the Lambeth Conference of 1920 which gave outspoken expression to the post-war economic ideals of the Anglican Communion. Although not mandatory upon its constituency, these pronouncements may be regarded as expressing the mind of the Church. Workmen are more than mere tools to be scrapped when no longer useful. The fact that men, who are willing and able to work, cannot find work is an offense to the conscience of Christianity. A living wage is the first charge upon industry, for it is intolerable that industry should be organized upon the foundation of the misery and want of the laborer. Further, workers must have reasonable leisure, security against unemployment, healthful surroundings. The organized labor movement is praiseworthy, for it "seeks to furnish a better world for people to live in."⁸ The House of Bishops and the House of Deputies at the General Convention of 1922 concurred in reaffirming the important declarations on labor by the Lambeth Conference—declarations very advanced for the day. Throughout the remainder of the 'twenties, the General Convention adopted precious few statements dealing with labor, although from time to time dioceses and individual congregations spoke and acted on behalf of labor.⁹

The record of the Episcopal Church press is revealing. The *Witness* could hardly have been more sympathetic in its support of labor. The *Churchman* was a liberal and capably edited journal under the guidance of William Austin Smith, and, after 1922, of Guy Emery Shipley. The workingman could not complain of the attitude of this paper. It carried strong criticisms of working conditions, particularly among miners, textile operators, and share-croppers. Labor spies and company police were exposed. Supreme Court decisions blocking minimum wage laws were termed disheartening blows to all persons interested in social justice. Pleas were made for old age and unemployment insurance. Contributors criticized management's "open-shop" campaign as a thinly disguised effort to crush all labor unions. Indeed, unions were rather gently treated in both editorials and articles, and there is

⁷It did, however, authorize the creation of a Department of Christian Social Service which in future years was to make an honorable record.

⁸Charles K. Gilbert, compiler, *The Social Task of the Church as Set Forth by the Lambeth Conference* (N. Y., n. d.), a pamphlet.

⁹These local conventions, as well as the General Convention, sometimes revealed a split between laymen and clergy, and the clergy almost invariably revealed a more liberal viewpoint.

little doubt that this journal favored the workers' right to organize and bargain collectively. The *Southern Churchman* not infrequently spoke in defense of the laborer, but in all truth it cannot be said that either the *American Church Monthly* or the *Living Church* displayed excessive concern with his problems.

The Episcopal Church, like most of the major denominations, gave witness to its concern in social problems through various official and unofficial agencies. One such organization was the Church Socialist League. Founded in 1911, this group stood for the abolition of the capitalist system, with the obvious if theoretical betterment of labor this implied. Although never large, the membership included such great names in the Episcopal Church as Bishop Franklin S. Spalding, Bernard Iddings Bell, Bishop Paul Jones, Bishop Benjamin Brewster, and Vida D. Scudder. The group split over pacifism in World War I. Mortally wounded by this fissure and by the climate of the Great Red Scare of 1919-1920, the Church Socialist League made a final denunciation of industrial autocracy in 1919, and then gradually staggered to its grave. By 1924, its pulse had stopped beating.

More significant was the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interest of Labor, although it too had passed the peak of its activities by 1919. Formed in 1887, CAIL for a generation probably did more to bridge the gap between the churches and labor than any other single religious group. Although an unofficial organization, it attracted the sympathetic support of the Episcopal Church, and many of its leaders flung themselves into the movement. One only need mention Bishops Huntington, Greer, Manning, Burch, Gilbert, and Rev. Messrs. De Costa and Bliss. This group's work was magnificent. Without succumbing to the fanaticism and dogmatism of some labor socio-religious organizations, CAIL unwaveringly strove to aid the laborer. It successfully lobbied for reform legislation, investigated and exposed brutal conditions of work, mediated strikes, cooperated with labor unions, published a warmly pro-labor journal, *Hammer and Pen*, channelized liberal sentiment in the General Conventions, and brought to American Protestantism an awareness of labor's disdain. By 1926, the Episcopal Church was officially prepared to minister to the workingman. CAIL had done its work well. It had lived long enough, but unlike King Lear, when it came to retire from the field, it had the honor and love of troops of friends.

The Church League for Industrial Democracy (CLID) filled the gap in church-labor relations created by the dissolution of CAIL in 1926, and for students of the 'twenties its activities are more significant

than those of its predecessor. Indeed, the older organization had passed the zenith of its influence by the beginning of the Prosperity Decade, the very moment when the CLID was born. The League's activities were many. In addition to its regular bulletin, the *Clipsheet*, it published numerous special pamphlets dealing with industrial problems. Social action units were formed at the local level; preaching teams canvassed the country, spreading the gospel according to the Rev. William B. Spofford; the interseminary conferences were promoted to further work among young people; field investigators tested civil liberties in industrial disputes, joined the picket line, and engaged in protest demonstrations. The League investigated conditions of work, conducted experiments in industrial democracy, cooperated with labor unions, opened churches to union speakers, lobbied for reform legislation, and gave moral and material aid to strikers. Above all, perhaps, the League sought to influence the social thinking of the rank and file of Episcopilians, although these attempts sometimes resulted in less than complete success. An examination of the material published by the League leaves little doubt as to its pro-labor position.

Unlike CAIL and the CLID, the Department of Christian Social Service was official. Formed by the action of the General Convention of 1919, as this department developed its interests were organized under divisions, with specialists as secretaries. In 1926, a division of Industrial Relations was created, and the following year Mr. Spencer Miller was appointed consultant on Industrial Relations. The department's purpose was to study and report upon social and industrial conditions; to coordinate the attitudes of the various organizations existing in the Church in the interests of social service; to cooperate with similar bodies in other communions; and to encourage sympathetic relations between capital and labor. As a responsible official agency of the Church, the Department of Christian Social Service obviously could not be as flagrantly pro-labor in its attitudes as unofficial groups. Still, under the leadership of such men as the Rev. Charles N. Lathrop, its position was far from evasive. In its reports to the General Convention, in special bulletins, in conferences—as the orderly arranged files of the department in New York reveal—the department rather vigorously supported labor's legitimate demands.

From time to time Episcopal Church sentiment supported labor even when it resorted to its extreme weapon—the strike. For example, during the terrible Passaic textile strike of 1926, the Rev. Theodore Andrews of St. George's Episcopal Church upheld the strikers. The ubiquitous "Bill" Spofford was on hand to fight the good fight,

and the *Churchman* exposed the frightening conditions that brought on the conflict. When unrest hit the textile mills of New Bedford in 1928, an Episcopal rector refused a call from another community because he did not wish to desert his congregation in their time of trouble. In 1929, the Synod of the Province of Sewanee expressed deep concern in the Gastonia textile strike. Once again Spofford was on hand to investigate, and once again the *Churchman* scored the brutality of management. Strikes in the coal and railroad industries also elicited sympathy among Episcopalian, and funds were raised to support the strikers' families.

Although the membership of the Episcopal Church included precious few horny-handed laborers, this did not prevent Episcopalian from evidencing some concern in labor questions. The worker might justly complain that the record was spotted, but there is sufficient evidence to refute the old worker's comment: "The preacher points your eyes to heaven and then the boss picks your pocket."

III.

The inquiry now turns to the subject of civil liberties, and of all the violations of this precious heritage, lynching was the most flagrant and bestial. Surely Satan exalted sat as mobs hung, shot, burned, gouged, flogged, drowned, impaled, dismembered, garroted, and blowtorched to death scores of individuals, including aged cripples, young boys, and pregnant mothers, in American lynchings. The General Convention in 1919 and 1922 adopted statements scoring the evil. At least four Church journals—including those of conservative as well as of liberal persuasion—editorialized against the abuse. Church leaders cried out. And yet, it must be noted that Episcopalian were not as aggressive in fighting for federal anti-lynching legislation as were several other denominations.

The mob violence practiced by the Ku Klux Klan, an organization dedicated to the proposition that all good men are created white, Protestant, and native-born, came in for some criticism. There is an old saying that true gentlemen travel only the Episcopal road to heaven. It goes without saying that few gentlemen would travel the Klan road to Americanism. Thus it is not surprising to find Episcopal Church journals scorning masked mobs. The Klan, believed the editors of the *Southern Churchmen*, was a "menace which all thoughtful persons should combine to prevent."¹⁰ After all, wrote a contributor to this paper,

¹⁰*Southern Churchman* (Nov. 20, 1920), 3.

masked organizations are an invitation to "any band of roughnecks" to punish those who incur their displeasure.¹¹ The Klan was "an insult to democracy and to the democracy of the South particularly."¹² Being gentlemen, the editors of the *Living Church* found "incredible" the mere suggestion that an Episcopalian would be among these masked ruffians.¹³ "Real men," pontificated the editors, "engaged in honorable pursuits, do not find it necessary to disguise their features."¹⁴ The *Churchman* held the Klan a "pernicious and cowardly breeder of class hatred," which violated "every basic principle of the religion of Jesus." If it were successful, American democracy would go into discard.¹⁵

In 1922, the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies concurred in deprecating secret societies who, in the name of patriotic Americanism, capitalize on bigotry, hatred, and intolerance. These groups

"who seek to array man against man, citizen against citizen, neighbor against neighbor, class against class, race against race, or creed against creed, are disloyal to the spirit and teaching of the Gospel of Christ, and to the foundation principles of the American commonwealth."¹⁶

It is unmistakable that the General Convention in this strong statement had the Klan in mind.

From time to time, Episcopal churchmen warned against the seductions of the Klan. Bishop Philip Cook was on record, and another leader preached on the subject, "Christianity and Americanism vs. the Ku Klux Klan."¹⁷ Walter Russell Bowie branded the Klan an insult to orderly government, a group of "malicious" men who "cloak themselves behind the white mask of a secret organization."¹⁸ In Texas, the Rev. Frank M. Johnson, Jr., rector of Christ Episcopal Church, Eagle Lake, was shot by two men in Klan regalia because of his outspoken opposition to the band. The records of the American Civil Liberties Union reveal that other churchmen openly spoke out against the revived Ku Klux Klan.

¹¹*Southern Churchman* (May 27, 1922), 11.

¹²*Ibid.* (Oct. 28, 1922), 12.

¹³*Living Church* (Aug. 11, 1923), 469.

¹⁴*Ibid.* (May 5, 1923), 5.

¹⁵*Churchman* (July 28, 1923), 7.

¹⁶*Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 1922, p. 115.

¹⁷*New York World*, Dec. 4, 1922, clipping in files of the American Civil Liberties Union (Vol. 204) in New York Public Library.

¹⁸*Christian Work* (Jan. 1, 1921), 5.

Unlike the Klan, the principles of neither the Daughters of the American Revolution nor the American Legion conflicted with the American Dream, and certainly both the Daughters and the Legionnaires contributed much that was wholesome and beneficial to the nation's development. Nevertheless, occasionally churchmen entered the lists and splintered lances with these two redoubtable organizations over such issues as militarism, black-listing, and the exposure of alleged "radicals." Paul Jones, Guy Shipler, Bishop Stires, Dr. Bowie, and other Episcopal churchmen challenged the patriotic pretensions of these groups.

Academic freedom was a third aspect of civil liberties in the 'twenties, and the most severe threat in this area involved the teaching of evolutionary theories. Happily, the Episcopal Church was not seriously racked by the fundamentalist controversy, and there is no record that Episcopalian favorited the passage of anti-evolution bills such as the one disgracing Tennessee and leading to the Scopes trial. Indeed, the *Churchman*, the *Southern Churchman*, and the *Living Church* all vigorously and repeatedly argued against prescriptive legislation, and sided with the defense in the famous trial at Dayton, Tennessee. Further, a number of Church leaders, including Bishops William Lawrence and William Manning, publicly protested against anti-evolution legislation, and resolutions to this effect were passed by such bodies as the diocese of Kentucky.

A fourth aspect of civil liberties in the 'twenties involved the fate of a "good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler." The ordeal of Nicola Sacco and Bartolmeo Vanzetti laid bare the intolerance and fear lurking beneath the placid surface of "normalcy," but it also indicated that the American conscience had not been anesthetized by bathtub gin. Neither the General Convention nor the diocese of Massachusetts believed it expedient to take action. However, Bishop Lawrence of Massachusetts called for a searching review of the case in an open letter to Governor Fuller. G. Warfield Hobbs, publicity director of the National Council of the Episcopal Church, and Bishop L. C. Sanford joined with other religious leaders in a telegram to Governor Fuller urging a stay of execution, and if the "certainty of guilt does not become reasonably conclusive in the public mind, we strongly recommend commutation of sentence."¹⁹ Bishop Chauncey C. Brewster and Dean William Scarlett signed petitions requesting an honest review of the trial. Other Episcopal clergymen who took similar action—according

¹⁹Information Service (Sept. 10, 1927), 1.

to the official bulletins of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee and the bulletins of the American Civil Liberties Union—were Bishop Edward T. Helfenstein, Edward S. Drown, and teachers and students at Episcopal seminaries. Further, the *Churchman* crusaded for the accused, believing "America can ill afford to take the chance of executing innocent men because their social theories are not in accord with those of the majority."²⁰

A final group of men who, in the belief of many, suffered injustice because of harsh laws and inflamed public opinion were those political prisoners charged with violating the wartime legislation of 1917-1918. Whatever their motives may have been for refusing to serve in the armed forces of the United States or for criticizing America's entrance into the war, their continued incarceration long after the cessation of hostilities smacked of vengeance rather than vigilance. In 1919, the House of Bishops adopted a resolution calling for executive clemency for the political prisoners, although the House of Deputies did not concur. Bishop Brent threw himself into the fight to secure the prisoners' release, and by 1923 the cause was adopted by over two score Episcopal bishops, those of Illinois, Kansas, and California making a special study of the question. Petitions to the government signed by Episcopal Church leaders continued to be sent throughout the entire decade, while the editorial columns of the Church press championed pardon for the men. The record shows also that a few Episcopal spokesmen came to the defense of Tom Mooney and the Centralia Wobblies—both cases reflecting serious doubt upon American justice.

The most serious threat to civil liberties in the United States came during the post-war hysteria of 1919-1920 when the nation, hag-ridden by the spectre of Bolshevism, suffered a failure of nerve. This was the time of the Great Red Scare. Apparently some Episcopalians trembled along with the rest of the nation. On at least several instances, the liberal *Churchman* agreed with the government's deportation of alien agitators. The *Living Church* averred that a vote for the Socialist candidate Victor Berger was a vote for "Germanism and perhaps Bolshevism as against Americanism and Democracy."²¹ Bishop Manning called upon the government to make public the names of those agitators seeking to "implant the Soviet form of government" in the United States.²² The Rev. G. A. Carstensen, rector of an uptown church in New York, declared the deportees were "creatures to whom the world

²⁰*Churchman* (April 30, 1927), 8.

²¹*Living Church* (Dec. 27, 1919), 257.

²²*New York Times*, Jan. 5, 1920, 10.

owes nothing but sufficient voltage to rid the earth of them."²³

Happily, a few Church leaders remained calm. The courageous and colorful Percy Stickney Grant, for instance, compared the voyage of the Buford (carrying deportees) to that of the Mayflower, much to the discomfort of those who equated Plymouth Rock with rocklike conservatism. Paul Jones was arrested in Waterbury, Connecticut, when he tested the constitutionality of an ordinance limiting freedom of speech. Bishop Arthur C. Hall wrote President Wilson, deplored the actions of Attorney General Palmer and his over-zealous Department of Justice.

"Apparently many so-called 100 per cent Americans," charged Bishop Charles Edward Woodcock, "do not regard civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution as part of their Americanism."²⁴

Irwin St. John Tucker, of course, deplored the hysteria sweeping the country, as did the Church Socialist League and the Church League for Industrial Democracy. William Austin Smith was among those New York religious leaders who issued a stirring plea for free speech, assembly, and press. Six months later, a dozen churchmen publicly protested the ousting of five duly elected Socialists from the New York legislature, and included in this band were the Rev. Messrs. Charles H. Slattery and Walcott Cutter. Later in the same month, January 1920, over a score of Protestant leaders of national distinction issued a plea for the preservation of civil liberties, and numbered among the signers were Bishops Brent, Brewster of Maine and Brewster of Connecticut, Lawrence and Talbot.

"We have long been saying," read the statement, "that constitutional changes can be effected without violence in America because of our right to free expression of opinion by voice and ballot. We cannot now deny this American substitute for violence without directly encouraging resort to revolution."²⁵

Church leaders in New York were active also in their opposition to the Lusk bills, introduced at Albany for the purpose of curbing so-called radical thought. A mass meeting of protest was held on April 22, 1920, in the Broadway Tabernacle, and Episcopalians were among those endorsing the assembly.

²³*Literary Digest* (Jan. 31, 1920), 37.

²⁴*Evening Post Magazine*, April 3, 1920, clipping in files of the American Civil Liberties Union (Vol. 112) in New York Public Library.

²⁵*New York Times*, Jan. 11, 1920, 20; *Christian Register* (Feb. 5, 1920), 131.

From time to time, the conservative *Living Church* counseled calmness, reminding its readers to distinguish between liberals and Reds, and between honest criticism of the injustices in society and the ranting of malcontents. Precisely the same advice was given by the *Southern Churchman*, the editors believing that dissidents should be silenced only when their utterances presented a clear and present danger. The *American Church Monthly* also deplored the excesses of the Great Red Scare. In the opinion of the *Churchman*, the attempts of the New York legislature to suppress agitation were so much "imbecile twaddle." In time, this paper protested the deportation delirium, and predicted that a generous extension of Palmer's methods would lead only to more bombings. New York's Lusk Committee was strongly condemned, and the editors warned that attempts to suppress intellectuals would simply mean the suppression of intelligence. The United States Senate was sharply rebuked for busily making Bolsheviks, even after the market was glutted, by listing as "dangerous characters" such individuals as Jane Addams. Early in 1919, this warning was given:

If a wave of tyrannical suppression passes over America, as it bids fair to do at the present writing, of every form of propaganda that is not orthodox, we shall have within a decade the same kind of terrorism that Russia enjoyed under the czar. By all means search out and hang the bomb throwers. But we are playing with fire when we begin to suppress what excited newspapers and congressmen call "agitation." Some of these men and apparently some of these newspapers are not aware that most of the doctrines which are branded as Bolshevism in America have been openly held and taught by millions of voters in Germany, France, Italy and England for more than a generation. Whom shall we permit to define "agitation"? Not every congressman eager to write his patriotism into the *Congressional Record*.²⁸

The record of the Episcopal Church on civil liberties might be summed up with those words found on an old English tombstone: "She averaged well for the community."

IV.

Among the most crucial issues facing the American people in the 'twenties was that of race relations. Racial pride threatened to cut the heart out of the Christian ethic as well as out of the American

²⁸*Churchman* (June 14, 1919), 7.

Dream. The clause in the immigration act of 1924, providing for the total exclusion of Japanese, illustrates the senseless folly of this form of paganism. Happily, Episcopalians were not unaware of the contradictions between the act and the Christian ideal of brotherhood. The General Convention of 1928 deplored the measure, and called for its modification. The National Council spoke critically. The Church press was on record.

"It would be an intolerable blunder," believed the *Southern Churchman*, "if Congress, through sheer bad manners should destroy the good will which the United States now possesses in the Orient, and rouse resentments which play straight into the hands of every militarist and jingo and loud inciter of possible war both in this country and in Japan."²⁷

From time to time, also, anti-Semitism was challenged by Episcopal Church leaders.

More far reaching was prejudice against the Negro. "If the treatment of the Negro by the Christian church is called 'divine,'" wrote W. E. B. Du Bois, militant Negro leader, "this is an attack on the conception of God more blasphemous than any which the church has always been so ready and eager to punish."²⁸ Episcopalians made some attempt to further racial brotherhood, but it would be too strong to call the record outstanding.

The Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A., is one of the distinctly national Churches. Although most of its congregations are all white or all Negro, it is not divided into racial branches. The General Convention of 1919 adopted a resolution calling for the end of racial disabilities, and a second resolution sought the establishment of a commission to investigate conditions under which Negroes lived. The General Convention of 1922 touched on the problem, as did the Lambeth Conference of 1920. Unofficial groups such as the CLID fought the good fight for racial as well as economic justice. From time to time, Church leaders spoke eloquently.

"If the colored people of this diocese constitute a problem," averred Bishop Herbert Shipman shortly before his death, "it is a problem of the white man's making and for which the white man is above all responsible. The colored man did not want to come to our shores. In honor and in common decency we owe

²⁷*Southern Churchman* (May 17, 1924), 5-6.

²⁸*Christian Century* (Dec. 9, 1931), 1556.

a debt of expiation to our colored fellow-citizens such as we owe no other people anywhere."²⁹

The record, however, is blemished. For instance, the *Southern Churchman* was just as contented with the racial *status quo* as Baptist or Methodist journals. It insisted that "proper" lines of segregation be preserved, although, to be sure, this was supposed to protect the Negro as well as the white. "When certain seats are set aside in the street cars for colored people," maintained a regular contributor in a rather unctuous tone, "they should be guarded and reserved for that purpose just as scrupulously as are the seats kept for the white people."³⁰ The *Living Church* repeatedly blasted lynchings, race riots, and other acts of violence against the Negro. This journal repeatedly demanded justice and the end of some disabilities. But just as certainly the editors believed in a segregated America, for racial integrity must be preserved and "whites and blacks must develop on absolutely separate planes."³¹ More discouraging is the fact that Episcopal Church spokesmen, including bishops, placed the blame for the terrible race riots in post-war America upon the Negroes.

The spotted nature of the Church's record is seen in a single event. In 1929 the Rev. William S. Blackshear of St. Matthew's Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, said from the pulpit that the Negroes in his congregation might better attend churches of their own people in the neighborhood, making it plain as a pikestaff that they were not welcome in his church. True, Mr. Blackshear faced a situation that would have taxed the wisdom of the truest Christian, and he did only what many other white ministers would do in the same situation. And yet, Bishop Ernest M. Stires termed the action "indefensible," saying that any form of "ecclesiastical snobbishness" is unchristian.³² The *Churchman* spoke out, and the Rev. Lorin Bradford Young cried: "The Church that excludes Negroes excludes Christ. Exclusive Christianity is no Christianity. A white man's church is not a church of Christ."³³ Other Episcopal churchmen disavowed the action. These facts do not obscure the conclusion that Episcopalian, together with most white American Protestants, fell short in the application of Christ's teachings of brotherhood.

²⁹Sumner Walters, *Social Ethics in the History of the American Episcopal Church with Reference to Its Relations with the Colored Race* (unpublished M. S. T. thesis, Pacific School of Religion, 1938), 86.

³⁰*Southern Churchman* (Aug. 9, 1919), 13.

³¹*Living Church* (Aug. 9, 1919), 514.

³²*Information Service* (Sept. 28, 1929), 3.

³³*Literary Digest* (Oct. 12, 1929), 32.

V.

Finally, how did the Episcopal Church face up to the question of the basic, over-all justice of American society in the "Roaring Twenties?" There is some evidence that Episcopal churchmen forsook the social Christianity of the Progressive Era, wearied of the reform fervor, and grew increasingly disillusioned, cynical, and tired. As Bishop Charles Fiske confessed, "some of us have been running so hard in the reform race that our breath is gone."⁸⁴ Further, Bishop Paul Jones and Bishop William M. Brown suffered loss of position and prestige, at least partially, because of their radical views.

On the other hand, the bishops of the Anglican Communion at the 1920 Lambeth Conference asserted the superiority of the claims of human life to those of property, and of human values to those of dividends and profits. In 1922, the General Convention reaffirmed these principles, holding "co-operation for the common service must be substituted for the present competition for private advantage as the paramount motive and end of all industry."⁸⁵ The official Department of Christian Social Service brought home to Episcopalian the fact that all was not perfect in the social order, but undoubtedly the most militant criticisms came from unofficial groups: the Church Socialist League, the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, and the Church League for Industrial Democracy. The Episcopal Church press was aware that all was not golden in the "Golden Twenties." The *Churchman* and *Witness* were clearly the most militant in their criticisms, while the *Southern Churchman* was also quite outspoken. The *Living Church* followed a middle-of-the-road course, and the *American Church Monthly* was rather conservative.

VI.

It is not the purpose of this inquiry to prove more than the evidence warrants. The Protestant Episcopal Church was not as sensitive and alert to the social issues facing American society as several other denominations. And yet the record shows that social Christianity continued to burn fairly bright among Episcopilians. Indeed, they spoke—albeit sometimes softly—on every major social issue of the decade.

⁸⁴*Scribner's Magazine* (Dec., 1927), 657.

⁸⁵*Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1922*, p. 163.

Part II: The Decade, 1929-1939

IT is perhaps too early to assess the impact of the Great Depression upon American Protestantism, but that the 'thirties were years of stress and strain for the churches, as for all of society, cannot be doubted. The crash, with its tragic wake of bread lines, Hoovervilles, hunger riots, quiet desperation, and unutterable despair, racked the land. Then came also the breakdown of peace in Asia and Europe. Shivered by these demoniac events, much of American Protestantism turned to a "theology of crisis." Curiously, however, even as the churches went to the right in theology, they veered to the left in politics. Thus, it is misleading to speak of the death of the social gospel in the 'thirties. The optimistic social Christianity of an earlier, more hopeful, age may have passed on, but the interest of the churches in the problems of society intensified rather than slackened in the Depression Decade. Evidence of this thesis may be found in the social attitudes of one leading communion—the Protestant Episcopal Church.

I.

The most fundamental issue facing the American people in the decade—one that transcended even the depression—centered on the breakdown of peace. High noon for the peacemakers had come for a brief moment in the late 'twenties; then ominous clouds of war suddenly shadowed the scene, and by 1939 the dark night of total war descended upon Asia and Europe. Two years later, peace passed below the horizon in the Western hemisphere also. The response of the Episcopal Church to the issue of war and peace was confused and divided, although far less so than in many denominations.

All Episcopalian, however, agreed that war was evil and a fall from grace. The record is replete with resolutions, sermons, editorials, articles and petitions damning war and urging the pacific settlement of international disputes. It was argued that the

"Christian Church in every nation should refuse to countenance any war in regard to which the government of its own country has not declared its willingness to submit the matter in dispute to arbitration or conciliation, and that the Church must wage unremitting war against war."²⁶

²⁶*Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1934,*
p. 342.

It was suggested that "Episcopalians who are unwilling for conscience sake to take human life in war be accorded by the United States Government the status in fact accorded members of the Society of Friends as respects military service."⁸⁷ Indeed, militarism was condemned right down the line: the government was asked to investigate the munitions industries, excessive military budgets were deplored, conscientious objectors defended, and days of prayer for world peace set aside.

Most Episcopalians continued to believe, particularly in the early 'thirties, that the best way to keep America out of war was to keep war out of the world. "No nation can live unto itself," read the Pastoral Letter to the General Convention of 1934. "We must coöperate or perish. War will be abolished finally only when Christ's spirit of forgiveness and reconciliation is in control of the world's international relations."⁸⁸ Hence, Episcopalians supported the League of Nations. Hence, also, the General Conventions of 1931 and 1934 urged American membership in the World Court. This step was advocated at the diocesan level and by the Church press. The Senate's rejection of American membership in the Court, believed the *American Church Monthly*, marked the "triumph of a dangerous demagoguery and of a blatant and self-satisfied nationalism."⁸⁹ "We blush for the increased odium brought upon our Senate by the recent World Court vote," said Bishop Edward L. Parsons.⁹⁰ The General Convention of 1931 gave its approval to the Pact of Paris, and most Episcopalians wished the Geneva World Disarmament Conference success. It is significant also that at least an element within the Church assumed a generous attitude toward European war debts owed the United States, and endorsed President Hoover's moratorium.

Although anti-war sentiment continued to be very powerful throughout the entire decade, the crest was reached by the mid-'thirties. The unity of Episcopal peacemakers broke on the rocks of Ethiopia, Spain, China, Munich, and Poland. Those who hewed to the line of pacifism lost their international outlook and took refuge in storm cellar neutrality. Originally very strong in their support of international cooperation, they retreated to a position indistinguishable from that of the isolationists. It was a strange alliance, because pacifism and isolationism are poles apart. On the other hand, many peacemakers came to the realization that the triumph of dictators would be a fate worse

⁸⁷*Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 342.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 80.

⁸⁹*American Church Monthly* (March, 1935), 131.

⁹⁰*Southern Churchman* (March 9, 1935), 4.

than war. And increasingly as the decade deepened, Episcopal churchmen forsook absolute pacifism for collective security, and finally evidenced a willingness to risk war to prevent the victory of Germany and Japan.

Pacifist or near-pacifist sentiment is witnessed in the Kirby Page polls of 1931 and 1934. Approximately 50 per cent of the Episcopal ministers questioned replied that they did not propose to sanction or participate in any future war. Later in the decade, Methodist Bishop James C. Baker queried 878 Episcopal ministers, and 346 replied in the affirmative (105 were in doubt) to the question: "Are you personally prepared to state that it is your present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as an armed combatant?"⁴¹ In February 1940, only eight of twenty-six Chicago area Episcopal ministers answered "yes" to the question: "If Allies appear to be losing should the United States declare war on Germany and send troops?"⁴²

More conclusive of pacifist sentiment is the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship, formed on Armistice Day, 1939, under the chairmanship of Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence. Its position was absolute, and the group attempted to sway Episcopal opinion, sending a pledge "to refuse to participate in or give moral support to any war" to all Episcopal clergymen.⁴³ Episcopal churchmen signed petitions, took pledges, and joined organizations that recorded their pacifist position. For instance, among the Episcopal ministers who in 1937 took Dick Sheppard's (the British pacifist) pledge to renounce war and never to support or sanction another were Bishop S. Arthur Huston of Olympia; Bishop Walter Mitchell of Arizona, Bishop W. A. Lawrence of Western Massachusetts, Bishop Paul Jones, retired, Bishop Robert L. Paddock, retired, Dean S. Whitney Hale of Buffalo, Rev. Walter R. Bowie of New York, Dean John W. Day of Topeka, Rev. John Gass of New York, Rev. Elmore McKee of New York, Dean Paul Roberts of Denver, and Rev. John Nevin Sayre, chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. One of the most active Episcopal pacifists was John Howland Lathrop, but he was only one of many who in the pulpit or press made clear his opposition to any and all wars.

Even Episcopal leaders who perhaps were not themselves pacifists supported the stand of their more extreme brethren. Thus, the Gen-

⁴¹James C. Baker, *12,854 Clergymen on War and Peace* (n.p., n.d.), 7, a pamphlet.

⁴²Emma Elizabeth Haas, *The Attitude of the Churches in the World War and the Present European War* (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1942), 154.

⁴³New York Times, Dec. 23, 1939, 4.

eral Convention, some dioceses, the press, and leading spokesmen all championed the cause of Douglas Clyde Macintosh, who was refused American citizenship by the courts because he would not promise in advance to support every war in which the United States might engage. Even non-pacifist Episcopalians, also, supported the neutrality acts of 1935, 1936, and 1937, which placed an embargo on arms, munitions, loans, and credits to nations at war. These measures were designed to prevent the United States from being sucked into war, for in the mid-thirties the American people accepted the debatable proposition, largely fostered by the Nye Committee, revisionist historians, and Marxists, that war was caused by international bankers and munitions makers. In 1938, the National Council gave its approval to this neutrality legislation. Important Church leaders and the press endorsed the acts, hoping that the United States could avoid European entanglements by economic isolation.

After the outbreak of hostilities in Europe in September 1939, most Episcopalians believed the United States would stay out, and a significant group, including Bernard Iddings Bell and Paul Jones, believed that America should not even aid the Allies.

It would be unfair to conclude that the Episcopal Church was completely debilitated by pacifism. On the contrary, this Church probably contained fewer pacifists or near-pacifists than any other major denomination in America, with the possible exception of a few distinctively Southern churches. The Page, Baker, Haas, and other polls make this point quite evident. After the outbreak of World War II, many prominent Church leaders took a strongly interventionist stand long before America's entry. Earlier, a number of Episcopalians, including Bishop Chauncey Brewster, Bishop Charles K. Gilbert, Bishop Robert L. Paddock, Guy Emery Shipley, and William B. Spofford, advocated changing the neutrality laws in order to permit materials of war to reach Loyalist Spain. Other Episcopalians called for a boycott of goods to Japan in order to halt aggression in China.

On the whole, the Episcopal Church press believed that aggressors could be halted only by force or the threat of force, and hence these papers supported adequate military preparations for the United States. Further, the General Convention of 1937 voted down a resolution supporting the Ludlow Amendment. Time after time, Church leaders, led by Bishop Manning, decried the spread of pacifism within the churches. "We cannot as Christians accept the principle that nothing in this life is worth fighting and dying for," argued Bishop Manning. "In such a world as that in which we are living we cannot take the position that

the use of force is never justifiable."⁴⁴ And, after the attack on Pearl Harbor, only a handful of Episcopalian pacifists stuck by their figurative guns. The Episcopal Church had fought the good fight for peace, but when the showdown came, it accepted the war as a tragic necessity and supported it to the finish.

II.

The depression hit the laborer like a blow in the solar plexus. He doubled up in pain, gasping only a weak protest. Haunted by the specter of unemployment, he docilely clung to his job, although his wages sunk to a pitiful level. By 1933, union membership fell to less than three million while unemployment rose to over ten million. Thus the condition and status of the laborer was one of the most frightening problems facing the churches in the 'thirties.

The Episcopal Church had something to say about this problem. The increasing gravity of the depression elicited statements on unemployment and social security from the General Convention of 1931, and in 1933 the bishops issued a pastoral letter on economic conditions. The General Convention of 1934 went a long way toward meeting virtually all of the reforms that labor itself requested. The bishops upheld the right of the worker to organize and bargain collectively, and deemed unemployment and old age insurance vital. The House of Deputies agreed with the Bishops when it also endorsed social insurance against such modern industrial hazards as unemployment, illness, accident, and old age, as being in accord with every principle of Christian brotherhood. The Convention also urged the elimination of sweatshops, child labor, and the exploitation of women in industry. A committee report further recognized the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively. The Convention of 1937 touched upon labor questions, but the high water mark of concern was reached at the 1934 session.

From time to time diocesan conventions and parishes expressed themselves favorable to labor reforms, as did the Episcopal Church press. The *Churchman* and the *Southern Churchmen* were especially sympathetic: they exposed bitter conditions of work, endorsed such New Deal legislation as the Social Security Act, and encouraged efforts at unionization. The *Witness*, of course, was outspokenly pro-labor, and even the rather conservative *Living Church* was not hostile. "The Christian dare not counsel the laborer to give up his right to strike," read

⁴⁴Northwestern Christian Advocate (July 29, 1937), 684.

one editorial, "for the capitalist would misuse the power thus granted to him."⁴⁵ The unrelieved conservatism of the *American Church Monthly*, however, is seen in the editors' condemnation of a federal child labor amendment, for such action "threatens to enter every home and make the State the sole and all-powerful guardian of the children. Russia furnishes too vivid an illustration of what this may mean."⁴⁶ On the whole, the moderately sympathetic attitude of the Episcopal Church press is better found in this statement:

"That the laboring man has not always treated the fair employer fairly can hardly be denied, but for every such instance is there not a much larger list the other way?"⁴⁷

The Church League for Industrial Democracy in the 'thirties carried the good fight for industrial justice. It continued to support labor right down the line, encouraging not merely paternalistic handouts, but the right of the workingman to have a voice in deciding his own economic fate. "Every advance that labor has made has been through the unions," declared a League pamphlet, entitled *The Church and Labor*.

Episcopal churchmen were numbered among the members of several interdenominational agencies designed to aid labor: the National Religion and Labor Foundation, the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, the Fellowship of Socialist Christians, the United Christian Council for Democracy, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and others.

Further, Bishop Benjamin Brewster, Bishop Charles K. Gilbert, and the Rev. William B. Spofford joined with other Church leaders in a memorial to President Roosevelt, urging the immediate and complete outlawing of company unions as the "chief inroad" on labor's liberties.⁴⁸ Other Church spokesmen, including Guy Emery Shipley, served on the American Association for Economic Freedom, a group designed to aid workers to organize in the face of vigilantism. Bishop Paul Jones sent greeting to the newly formed C. I. O., and wished it success in its organizational drives. On countless other occasions, Episcopalians in petitions, sermons, and articles supported labor, just as they joined numerous secular pro-labor groups.

Also revealing is the stand taken by Episcopal churchmen during specific instances of industrial unrest. For example, Bradford Young and Spear Knebel joined the pickets in a Paterson, New Jersey, textile

⁴⁵*Living Church* (Sept. 4, 1937), 275.

⁴⁶*American Church Monthly* (April, 1934), 254.

⁴⁷*Southern Churchman* (Aug. 31, 1935), 3.

⁴⁸*American Civil Liberties Bulletin* (Feb. 26, 1934).

strike. They were marching around the mill, like Israel about Jericho, when they were arrested and politely escorted into patrol wagons. In 1930, the Church Emergency Committee for the Relief of Textile Strikers was formed, and included in this group were such Episcopal Church leaders as William B. Spofford. In New York, a committee composed of John Howard Melish, Bishop Gilbert, and others organized on behalf of striking garment workers. The Rev. Eliot White exhorted New Jersey textile strikers to carry on even with the "courts and the police against them."⁴⁹ Bishop Gilbert joined other churchmen in petitioning Congress to investigate violations of civil liberties in the coal fields of southeastern Kentucky, and Spofford was on hand in the fields in person. "Of course sit-down strikes are legal," declared Paul Jones at the time of the automobile strikes,⁵⁰ and Dean O'Ferrell was on a fact-finding committee to mediate the unrest. Bishop Edward L. Parsons defended the workers during the controversial West Coast longshoremen's strikes. The Rev. Messrs. Bradford Young and Eliot White joined Brooklyn-Edison Company employees in their organizational drive. White was knocked about by company "goons," and lost several teeth in the Donneybrook.

III.

A third fundamental social issue facing the Protestant Episcopal Church in the 'thirties concerned civil liberties. On the whole, Episcopalian established a commendable record for their vigilance in safeguarding this priceless heritage. For instance, in 1934 the House of Bishops endorsed federal anti-lynching legislation, and many other Church spokesmen were on record against this unspeakable evil. William Scarlett joined other clergymen in demanding an investigation of a lynching in St. Joseph, Missouri. The Rev. Charles G. Marmion, Jr., of Eagle Lake, Texas, risked his life in 1935 to hold back a lynch mob. Bishop William Manning demanded the impeachment of a California governor when that worthy excused an inexcusable lynching.⁵¹ Without citing chapter and verse, it can be said that the Episcopal Church press was unanimous in its condemnation of this most flagrant violation of civil liberties.

⁴⁹*Hackensack Record*, Dec. 11, 1935, clipping in files of the American Civil Liberties Union (Vol. 821) in New York Public Library.

⁵⁰*New York Times*, Feb. 22, 1937, 15.

⁵¹On the other hand, Dr. Henry Darlington of New York added little to the prestige of the Episcopal Church when he defended the California official.

In the 'twenties, Episcopal Church spokesmen had challenged the patriotic pretensions of the American Legion, and echoes of these criticisms carried over into the Depression Decade. For instance, Dr. Walter Russell Bowie declared from the pulpit that the Legion's lobby was a "sinister and deadly cancer upon the body of American life."⁵² To help cushion the inevitable counterpunch, sixty New York clergymen, including Bishop Ernest M. Stires, issued a statement publicly associating themselves with Dr. Bowie. The *Churchman* repeatedly exposed the patriotic pretensions of the Legion.

Another threat to civil liberties in the 'thirties centered on the benighted rule of Mayor Hague in Jersey City. In defiance of Hague's embargo on speakers on civil liberties in Hudson County, the Rev. William C. Kernan, rector of Trinity Episcopal Church in Bayonne, invited Roger N. Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union to address an audience in his parish house on the subject of the Bill of Rights. Mr. Baldwin, of course, was *persona non grata* in the Hague bailiwick. Mr. Kernan said that what he saw happening in Jersey City was "grossly indecent," making him "ashamed of humanity." This cleric's desire "to make certain that free speech in Bayonne cannot be suppressed by any group of citizens" was approved by his superiors.⁵³ The Department of Christian Social Service also denounced violations of civil liberties in New Jersey, as did Dr. Bowie and Bishop Parsons. Both the *Churchman* and the *Living Church* protested against the high jinks in Jersey.

As Episcopalians denounced the Ku Klux Klan in the 'twenties, so they flayed the Black Legion in the 'thirties. Bishop Paddock Brewster, and Jones and the Rev. John Howard Melish appealed to President Roosevelt to order a congressional investigation of the bully boys. The Church press was outspoken, "writhing vermin" being the term employed by the *Witness* in describing the group.

Church spokesmen also believed that loyalty oaths for teachers—demanded by some twenty states in 1939—were dangerous, imperiling the principle of academic freedom. Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence called for the repeal of a Massachusetts loyalty oath before a crowd of thirteen hundred Bostonians, and Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill termed the law a dangerous cloud on the horizon. The Rev. John Howard Melish expressed the hope that, were he a teacher, he would have the courage

⁵²*World Tomorrow* (April 12, 1934), 171; *Christian Century* (April 11, 1934), 483.

⁵³*Information Service* (Feb. 5, 1938), 4; *Living Church* (May 18, 1938), 593; American Civil Liberties Union *Bulletin* (Jan. 22, 1938).

to refuse to sign an oath. The *Churchman* saw in these oaths a dangerous trend toward fascism, and the *Living Church* expressed disapproval.

The fate of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings, labor leaders convicted on flimsy evidence of exploding a bomb during a 1916 San Francisco preparedness parade, stirred the Episcopal conscience. For instance, many Episcopalians, including Bishops Brewster and Gilbert, belonged to the National Church Committee on Mooney and Billings, formed in 1931.

"It is too late for either mercy or justice to Mooney and Billings," read this group's petition to the governor of California. "You cannot take fourteen of the best years of a man's life and still do justice. It is not too late to retrieve some shattered remnant of self-respect of the American people."⁸⁴

Several years later another organization was formed to work for the men's release, the Interreligious Committee for Justice for Thomas J. Mooney; and this group embraced Episcopalians. Episcopal Church leaders, including John Nevin Sayre, belonged to such secular groups as the National Mooney-Billings Committee. Howard C. Robbins joined with four other distinguished Protestant leaders in a letter to the governor of California asking that he pardon the men. "The State of California has committed a gross act of injustice which cannot be righted," believed Bishop L. C. Sanford, "though amends could be made by releasing Mooney from prison."⁸⁵

A case involving figurative dynamite detonated in 1931 when nine Negro youngsters were accused, on doubtful evidence, of assaulting two white girls in a box car, while the train passed through the sovereign state of Alabama. Impartial citizens, in Dixie as well as in the North, held that American justice appeared before the bar in Alabama and left reeling with the conviction of the youths. Naturally the Church League for Industrial Democracy labored for the accused. In the mid-thirties there was formed a Scottsboro Defense Committee, embracing such Episcopal Church leaders as Bowie, Gilbert, Melish, Paddock, and Scarlett. Both the *Churchman* and the *Living Church* sympathized with the boys, the latter journal holding the case a "shameful exhibition," presenting an "unedifying spectacle of race hatred and intolerance."⁸⁶ The editors of the *Southern Churchman* exercised considerably more restraint, although they too believed the lads innocent.

⁸⁴*Christian Century* (Feb. 25, 1931), 277.

⁸⁵*Our American Dreyfus Case* (Los Angeles, 1935), 42, a pamphlet published by the Interreligious Committee for Justice for Thomas J. Mooney.

⁸⁶*Living Church* (April 15, 1933), 9.

The fate of the Wobblies, imprisoned after the Centralia Massacre of 1919, brought forth action from Episcopal churchmen in the Northwest: Bishop S. Arthur Huston was especially active. Church voices were raised also in the Angelo Herndon *cause célèbre*.

There is evidence that a significant minority in the Church, although detesting Marxian principles, believed that in the United States even communists were not beyond the pale of decent treatment and the due process of law. To begin with, the threat from domestic communists appeared very slight to some Churchmen. In 1936, the *Southern Churchman* editorialized: "In America it is laughable to think of Communism as a direct threat." The real menace is from those who desire to maintain unaltered the *status quo*. Let us meet communism, not as we would slap mosquitos, but rather by eliminating the swamps where the pests breed.⁵⁷ A year later, the *Churchman* advised its readers not to worry about a few "Reds" when the real danger was from fascism. The *Southern Churchman* and the *Living Church* repeatedly cautioned against "Red"-baiting activities, which, in their excesses, threatened to undermine the liberties of all. The *Churchman* maintained that communists were treated "as no dog ought to be," and that the spectacle was enough "to nauseate the friends of liberty." "Who's afraid?" was once an American motto,⁵⁸ reminded the editors.⁵⁹ Even the conservative *American Church Monthly* deplored the silencing of Earl Browder, Communist Party candidate for the Presidency, by the local officials of Terre Haute, Indiana, in 1936. John Howland Lathrop in 1939 publicly protested a proposed New York law barring communists from public office.

In 1938, Simon W. Gerson was appointed confidential assistant to Stanley M. Isaacs, borough president of Manhattan. Gerson's known membership in the Communist Party aroused a storm of public protest, and he was finally compelled to resign in 1940. However, a group of fifteen New York liberals sent a letter to Isaacs condemning the so-called witch hunt, and requesting him to stand by his appointment. After all, read the letter, "The outcry against Simon W. Gerson because of his membership in the Communist party seems to us wholly unrelated to any consideration of fitness for public office." The signers of this statement included John Howland Lathrop and John Howard Melish.⁶⁰ Another letter deplored the "witch hunt" and requesting

⁵⁷*Southern Churchman* (Nov. 21, 1936), 3, 6.

⁵⁸*Churchman* (March 22, 1930), 9.

⁵⁹*American Civil Liberties Union Bulletin* (March 18, 1939).

the retention of Gerson was signed by Bradford Young and William B. Spofford.⁶⁰

According to the reports of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the files of the American Civil Liberties Union, and the news columns of the Church press, other Episcopalians, from time to time, sought to uphold the civil liberties of communists.

IV.

In the Depression Decade, race relations remained one of the most serious aberrations of the American Dream. Indeed, the economic collapse heightened competition for jobs, frayed nerves, and intensified racial hatred. In regard to anti-Semitism, it can be said that the official record of the Church was almost without blemish.⁶¹ As the unbelievably shocking reports from Nazi Germany rolled in, Episcopalians in resolutions, sermons, petitions, and editorials denounced the pagan torture of the Jew in Germany and the more sophisticated discriminations practiced in the United States.

More far-reaching was prejudice against the Negro. The American Episcopal Church is one of the distinctly national churches. Although most of its congregations are all white or all Negro, it is not divided into racial branches. In the 1940's and 1950's, the Episcopal Church was to speak in no uncertain voice on the race question. Its General Convention resolutions were to be among the most outspoken in American Protestantism. In the 'thirties, however, the record is not eloquent. True, in 1934 the General Convention discussed the issue. True, several Church journals compiled enviable records. True, many Church leaders fought the good fight for racial justice: Bishop Manning even ordered firemen to break down the doors of a New York church barred to Negroes. The fact is, nevertheless, that there still persisted among Episcopalians a vast gulf between their professions of faith and their actual racial practices.

V.

In the "Roaring Twenties," much of American Protestantism apparently felt unfettered capitalism was enthroned by the laws of nature

⁶⁰*Report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 78th Cong., 2nd session, Appendix IX, 768-770.*

⁶¹However, it is not an injustice to say that the *American Church Monthly* (the word "New" was added to its title in 1938) was rather clearly antagonistic to the Jew. The editors even attempted to rationalize the persecutions in Nazi Germany.

and nature's God. As the depression deepened, however, the churches were forced to reexamine the basic premises of the American social order and to weigh the contending merits of capitalism, New Dealism, and socialism. It is probably fair to say that the Episcopal Church swung moderately to the left in the 'thirties.

The General Convention of 1931, for example, reflected the time of troubles in which it met. The bishops in their pastoral letter drew a bleak picture of conditions during the depression, a breakdown precipitated not by any catastrophe of nature but by the failure of capitalism. Recovery must be accompanied by basic reforms, and the "profit seeking motive must give way to that of service." A committee also reported that "our traditional philosophy of rugged individualism must be modified to meet the needs of a cooperative age." After all, when men starve because there is too much food, go naked because they produce too much clothing, sleep in parks because there are too many houses, even a fool can see that something is wrong.⁶² It was at this Convention that Spencer Miller told the deputies that capitalism had failed—and he was given a several minute ovation.

A meeting of the House of Bishops in 1933 brought forth this admonition:

"No mere reestablishment of the old economic order will suffice. Christ demands a new order . . . which shall substitute the motive of service for the motive of gain."

The following year the bishops hit upon the same theme:

"That millions of the people of our country are denied the common necessities of life, that approximately one-third of our population is below the poverty level, that there is a widespread want in the land that is abundantly productive, make evident the lamentable inadequacy of existing economic systems."⁶³

On several other occasions later in the decade, the bishops spoke on economic conditions, but never did they specify an alternative to capitalism, and their observations dealt with motives and ethics rather than with specific details.

The official Department of Christian Social Service (in 1939 known as the Department of Christian Social Relations), with eighty-nine diocesan branches by the end of the decade, faced up to the problems

⁶²*Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1931*, pp. 155, 542-548.

⁶³*Ibid. 1934*, 80, 45-46.

of the depression from the point of view of middle class liberalism, critical of the abuses of capitalism but not advocating its discard.

The unofficial Church League for Industrial Democracy went further. "We are living in the twilight of the gods of capitalism," its president, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, believed.⁶⁴ The group's dominating figure was the courageous and colorful executive secretary, the Rev. William B. Spofford. Spofford believed that fascism poised a grave danger to the United States and, hence, he was willing to join hands with the communists in united front activity. He stated he was not a communist and had never voted for a communist. But he saw no reason why "Christians and Communists should not cooperate in the areas where they agree." It would be a pragmatic alliance. If and when the communists changed their anti-fascist line, he said, "it is probable that I shall part company with them."⁶⁵ Other leaders of the CLID, Vida Scudder, for instance, agreed with Spofford that it was possible and wise for Christians to cooperate with communists in united front movements. It should be noted, however, that the CLID itself, in national meeting, overwhelmingly defeated a proposal to affiliate with the American League for Peace and Democracy (formerly the American League Against War and Fascism), a group rather far to the left, if not actually communist dominated. In short, the CLID was generally critical of capitalism, and a few of its members flirted with fellow-traveling.

Spofford also expressed his views through the *Witness*, on which he served as managing editor. Its liberalism was unmistakable. Equally clear was the rather liberal position of the older journal, the *Churchman*, edited by Guy Emery Shipler. Shipler was later to be severely criticized for his "Left of Center" views, and even moderates came to consider his paper as being on the far left.⁶⁶ On the whole, this evaluation is too extreme for the position of Shipler and the *Churchman* in the 'thirties. This journal was liberal, but not pro-communist. Capitalism's debacle was vividly portrayed and New Deal measures defended, although Roosevelt was not openly endorsed in the election of 1936. The recognition of Russia was hailed as a courageous and intelligent act, but Russia was not seen as an utopia. As late as 1939, the *Churchman* remained a journal of liberal and not radical persuasion.

⁶⁴Christ Demands a New Order, a pamphlet published by the CLID.

⁶⁵Protestant Digest (Dec., 1938), 77-78; Living Church (Sept. 21, 1938), 261, 263.

⁶⁶See the discussion in Ralph Lord Roy, *Apostles of Discord* (Boston, 1953), 267-269.

The *Living Church*, published in Milwaukee, is generally considered to represent conservative opinion in the Episcopal Church. Its conservatism, however, was relative. To the right of the journals edited by Spofford and Shipley, it was nevertheless far from rock-ribbed in its attitudes. It clearly favored governmental planning and federal coercion to curb the abuses of rampant individualistic capitalism. From time to time, kind words were said about President Roosevelt. It is true that the editors were critical of the CLID, but the nature of this criticism should be made clear. "When the Church League . . . abandons its complacent attitude toward Communism," said the editors, "and bases its program squarely on the platform of Christian radicalism, our enthusiasm for it will increase a hundred fold."⁶⁷ The *Southern Churchman* was rather liberal in its attitudes, evidencing considerable sympathy for New Deal reform legislation. The *American Church Monthly*, on the other hand, was very conservative. Incidentally, the former favored and the latter opposed extending diplomatic recognition to Russia in 1933.

Individual Episcopal churchmen joined such left of center groups as the National Religion and Labor Foundation, the Fellowship of Socialist Christians, the United Christian Council for Democracy, the Fellowship of Southern Churchman, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and others. The Kirby Page poll of 1934 provides further evidence of liberal sentiment among Episcopalians, when 24 per cent of those interviewed, including Bishop Parsons and Dr. Bowie, selected socialism as the political system they believed would best bring about the establishment of a just society.⁶⁸ It seems fair to add that a few Episcopalians, such as William Montgomery Brown (convicted of heresy in 1924, it is true), went beyond socialism.

It should not be assumed that radical sentiment in the Episcopal Church was as widespread as in some other communions. There were always enough conservatives on hand—ministers as well as laymen—to keep the fires of social Christianity well banked. For instance, the Church League for Industrial Democracy came in for much questioning from Episcopalians. Bishop William T. Manning was perhaps the most vocal critic, but he was joined by many others including Bishop Charles Fiske and Bernard Iddings Bell. Bell was one of the founders of the group, and he believed that it had swung from a liberal posture to

⁶⁷*Living Church* (Sept. 21, 1938), 255.

⁶⁸The term socialism was defined as that "represented by the Socialist Party of America, or by a new and more inclusive socialistic alignment, in which the present Socialist Party would be included." For the results of the poll, see the *World Tomorrow* (May, 1934).

one definitely radical, including for some of its leaders like Spofford a coqueting with communists. The fight over the CLID rocked the Episcopal Church press and General Conventions, especially that of 1937. And in 1937, also, a Church Laymen's Association was formed to "combat the radical and unChristian influences that threaten the disintegration of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and to promote in every way the growth and strengthening of the Church."⁶⁰ This group, under the chairmanship of Merwin K. Hart, charged the the CLID advocated Marxian Socialism. The charge is not entirely just, but surely the CLID brought some of the criticism down upon its own head.

VI.

The sweep of Episcopal Church opinion in the Depression Decade was very broad. While far from radical, the position of that Church was somewhat to the left of a village banker, and one the whole Episcopalian faced up to the fundamental problems confronting American society with candor and enlightenment.

⁶⁰*New York Times*, Sept. 21, 1937.

From "Churches" To "Church"

By DuBose Murphy*

IN 1782, a thirty-five page pamphlet came from the press of David C. Claypoole in Philadelphia. The author's name did not appear, but he was soon recognized as the Rev. William White, rector of the united parishes of Christ Church and St. Peter's in that city. The wording of the title is significant: "*The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered.*" There was no "Episcopal Church" (not even a Protestant Episcopal Church) in the United States; there were only a few score Episcopal churches scattered along the coast from Boston to Savannah. It is the aim of this paper to describe five landmarks on the course by which these churches advanced in outward organization and inward fellowship, to become the Church which we have today.

I.

The first step was to form a working organization with recognized authority in constitution and canons. The publication of White's pamphlet was one of several factors which led to a series of meetings, each with a larger and more representative attendance. There was also correspondence between Church leaders, clerical and lay; there were personal visits and conversations. The first real General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America met in Philadelphia, September 27, 1785, with sixteen clergymen and twenty-four laymen representing seven states. Subsequent Conventions were held in 1786 and 1789. At these the organization and form of government of the Church were worked out and a Book of Common Prayer adopted. It is beyond our present purpose to enter into a detailed discussion of these meetings. What we wish to emphasize is

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that there was much disagreement on many points, to begin with, and that these differences of opinion were gradually resolved by patience, honest debate and Christian courtesy.

The clergy of Connecticut had elected Samuel Seabury as their bishop on March 25, 1783, and he was consecrated to the episcopate in Scotland, November 14, 1784. During the Revolutionary War he had been an avowed Tory, and had served as chaplain in the British army. Samuel Provoost and William White became bishops of New York and Pennsylvania, respectively, consecrated in London February 4, 1787. Provoost was frankly hostile to Seabury, chiefly because of Seabury's toryism, and it took all of White's tact, patience, firmness and statesmanship to keep this strained personal relationship from breaking out into actual schism. But he persuaded Seabury to attend the General Convention of 1789, and Seabury's influence was recognized in the formation of the American Book of Common Prayer.

The Southern states (the word "diocese" did not come into use until later) were determined that laymen should have a full part in the General Convention and in other ways. Seabury and the Connecticut clergy did not like this, but they accepted the decision of the majority. The later experience of the Church has shown that this recognition of the laity contributed greatly to the strength of the growing body.

It must be frankly admitted that this organization existed on paper only. It was something towards which the churches were going to grow, but there was still little feeling of common life and interest—less, probably, than the feeling of citizens for the new nation. But there was at least an organization, and that was something.

More important than constitution and canons was the Book of Common Prayer. This was based on the English Prayer Book which had been used in the colonies. A radical revision (called "The Proposed Book"), drafted in 1785, had caused consternation in England and met with little favor in America. The General Convention of 1789 completed work on a more conservative version. In particular, the order of Holy Communion was remodeled along the lines of the Scottish Liturgy, on the eloquent recommendation of Bishop Seabury. But the great thing was the fact of the book itself: here was an orderly, reverent, and beautiful form of worship which was used throughout the Church. A communicant of Trinity Parish, New York, could attend a service in St. Philip's, Charleston, and find the same familiar order to which he had become attached in his home parish. The Book of Common Prayer did much to draw the scattered churches into at least the beginnings of a Church.

II.

For nearly half a century the newly organized Church struggled and floundered. What it needed was a common task, a shared responsibility which would draw the scattered parishes and semi-dependent dioceses into a working body. But in most of the country the churches had to devote all their energies to the bare task of keeping alive. There was no strength for expansion or growth. Then early in the nineteenth century a second generation of bishops began to move forward, to push out the boundaries of the Church towards the frontier. John Henry Hobart in New York, Richard Channing Moore in Virginia, Alexander Viets Griswold in New England, were not only able administrators and pastors; they were also pioneers. But they sorely needed greater support in these efforts towards extension.

The General Convention of 1820 recognized the missionary needs of the frontier and established the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. A board of directors was constituted and contributions were invited. This was but a feeble effort and much more was needed. Fifteen years later, the General Convention of 1835 boldly proclaimed the truth that every Christian has a missionary obligation, and that every baptized member of the Church was a member of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. A monthly magazine, *The Spirit of Missions*, began publication in 1836 and did much to arouse interest in the cause.

Then, to give greater effect to its declaration, the General Convention of 1835 elected two missionary bishops, Jackson Kemper for the Northwest and Francis Lister Hawks for the Southwest. No longer was the Church to wait for her people on the frontier to appeal for episcopal leadership; she took the initiative and sent out missionaries. Dr. Hawks did not accept his election—perhaps it was just as well, since he later found himself involved in financial troubles. And the southwestern frontier (Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas) had to wait three years, until the election and consecration of Leonidas Polk in 1838. In the Northwest, Jackson Kemper moved forward boldly, establishing missions, organizing parishes and laying the foundations for the dioceses of Missouri, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin.

Now the Episcopal churches had a common task and a shared responsibility. They were beginning to feel more like a Church. The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society was able to raise a fair amount of money for the salaries of its bishops and to make modest appropri-

tions for the work in the field. But the missionaries themselves, both bishops and presbyters, had to make their own appeals for support, sometimes by correspondence and articles in *The Spirit of Missions*, sometimes by personal visits in the East. The Church as a whole was not yet ready to provide for the full support of the work, but there was a growing interest and an increased concern for the task.

III.

From the ratification of the federal constitution on, one question continued to come up: Was (or were?) the United States a nation or a federation of self-governing states? On the surface, the matter of slavery aroused greater emotional heat, but the War of 1812 and the tariff had also contributed to the argument. Eventually, the appeal to arms (1861-1865) and the victory of the federal forces resolved the political problem. But the Churches had also felt the storm of controversy: Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians had divided into separate denominations, before any state had seceded.

In 1861, the Southern dioceses of the Episcopal Church organized the "Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America." But this was not intended as schism. It was, rather, an act similar to that by which the Church in the United States had separated from the Church of England. As the Southern bishops put it, it was a recognized principle of catholic usage that there be an independent Church in each nation, while these same national Churches maintained proper relations with each other and with the whole Church Catholic. So long as the Confederate States formed a nation, it was right and proper that the Church in that nation should have its own organization and life.

The Church in the North was not yet ready to accept this separation, and at the General Convention of 1862 the roll call in the House of Deputies began with "Alabama." But relations were strained if not broken, and the surrender of the Confederate armies in 1865 was followed by anxious discussion on both sides of the Mason and Dixon Line. In the North, there were extremists who wanted "to put the rebels on stools of repentance," and one editor demanded that some of the bishops and clergy of the South should be hanged as leaders in the movement for secession. In the South, there was not only a complete refusal to consider any humiliating conditions for reunion, but also a feeling in some places that the Church in the South would do well to maintain its independence.

However, there were many leaders on both sides who began promptly to work for reconciliation: in the North, Bishops Hopkins (Vermont), Horatio Potter (New York), and A. C. Coxe (Western New York); in the South, Gregg (Texas), Atkinson (North Carolina) and Lay (Arkansas). When the General Convention assembled in Philadelphia in October, 1865, the forces of reconciliation were successful. Atkinson and Lay were cordially received in the House of Bishops. Clerical and lay deputies from Texas, North Carolina and Tennessee were likewise welcomed in the House of Deputies. Efforts to embarrass or humiliate the South were voted down in both houses, and the deputies passed a resolution:

"That this House offers its profound gratitude to God that we have among us our brethren, the Clerical and Lay Deputies from the Dioceses of Texas, North Carolina and Tennessee, and that we recognize their presence in our midst as a token and pledge of the future and entire restoration of the union of the Church throughout the length and breadth of the land."

Inspired and encouraged by the spirit exhibited in Philadelphia, the General Council of the Church in the Confederate States met a few weeks later, released its constituent dioceses from their allegiance, and indicated that the independent life of that Church had come to an end. The same principle was followed as in 1861—a separate branch of the Church in each independent nation. The Confederacy had ceased to exist; the states were again united, and accordingly the Church resumed its unity. The Protestant Episcopal Church was not split by either slavery or secession. The *Church feeling* was strong enough to withstand the shock of threatened division, and the General Convention of 1865 became another landmark on the road to a fully united Church.

IV.

Almost from its earliest days, the Episcopal Church had recognized the needs of aged and infirm clergymen, and of the widows and orphans of deceased clergymen. Many dioceses had formed benevolent societies to assist such cases, and there was also the General Clergy Relief Fund incorporated in 1853. All of these received voluntary gifts, occasional special offerings, and now and then a bequest. But the total amount of money available for actual grants to beneficiaries was pathetically small.

In 1910, Bishop William Lawrence of Massachusetts took the lead in the development of a really sound and adequate Church Pension Fund. The basic principles of the Fund were adopted by the General Convention of 1913, and the whole matter was dramatically presented to the Church by a nation-wide campaign to raise money needed for the initial reserve fund. The campaign went on through 1916 and was completed by March 1, 1917.

This might have been a single sensational drive for money, which—like many such—left no permanent mark. But the important fact was that the General Convention of 1916 had set up explicit canonical requirements which made the payment of pension premiums a matter of law and not of choice; and this was followed by appropriate legislation in the dioceses. The support of clergy pensions was no longer dependent upon voluntary contributions. It was accepted by the whole Church as a binding obligation. Behind the official action of General Convention and of the diocesan conventions, there was a growing sense of responsible unity throughout the Church, for Bishop Lawrence and his associates had publicized the campaign most effectively and had succeeded in educating the whole Church on the subject of pensions. Some people had said that Episcopalians would never accept such a universal tax as the pension premiums really were; but these doubters were proven wrong, and the records of the Church Pension Fund for nearly forty years show how completely the compulsory principle has been accepted. Here is a striking demonstration of the growing corporate sense; the Church was really becoming a Church and not a loose federation of dioceses.

V.

In discussing the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, we mentioned the fact that the support of the Society's work came, for the most part, from voluntary contributions. An occasional legacy provided a trust fund for the benefit of some special project, or—more rarely—was used as the directors voted. Occasionally there were gifts for buildings or other capital needs. As the work grew, the Society ventured to suggest an "apportionment" to each diocese; and the diocese would divide this sum up among the parishes, with an additional asking for diocesan missions.

Then early in the twentieth century, the General Board of Religious Education was organized, and it also began to invite contributions from the dioceses.

But the most active work of money-raising was done by the missionary bishops themselves, assisted by archdeacons (like Hudson Stuck of Alaska) and other workers from the field. These men would leave their districts for three or four months out of the year and visit the stronger parishes in the East and North, describing their work with dramatic and emotional fervor, and receiving offerings from those generously disposed. The story was told that one missionary bishop selected, as an appropriate text for his tombstone, part of S. Luke 16:22—"and it came to pass that the beggar died." When a missionary bishop like Robert L. Paddock of Eastern Oregon or Edward A. Temple of North Texas announced that he was not going to undertake "begging trips," he was looked upon as eccentric. Occasionally the possession of personal means, or a known ability to make effective appeals for gifts, would be given serious consideration in the election of a missionary bishop.

World War I, of 1917-1918, was the first really national emergency that the United States had known. The War with Spain was too short and too easy to arouse anything like a great national effort. But 1917 was different. The Selective Service Act meant that every young man was liable to be called; no longer would we rely upon volunteers. Then came the campaigns for the sale of Liberty Bonds, appeals for the Red Cross, etc., which brought the needs of the nation to the attention of every citizen.

With the close of the war, it was natural that leaders in the Episcopal Church should begin to think in terms of mobilizing the whole Church for the support of the whole work of the Church. The Rev. Robert W. Patton of Virginia took the lead in organizing an aggressive "Nation Wide Campaign for the Church's Mission." A survey of the entire field of Church work was undertaken, largely by questionnaires and correspondence, during the summer of 1919. Even though this preliminary work was hastily done, and the answers reflected pious hopes and vague ideals more often than sober and attainable possibilities, yet it was made abundantly clear that the Church was facing rich opportunities everywhere. All that was needed was well organized support.

Dr. Patton presented his findings to the General Convention in Detroit in October, 1919. Many speakers, of whom the most effective was probably the Rev. James E. Freeman (later bishop of Washington), eloquently supported the Nation-Wide Campaign, and it was adopted by both Houses of the Convention.

In brief, what happened was that the Church accepted a single program which included missionary work (foreign and domestic), Christian Education, and Social Service. A National Council was set up to coordinate the work and supervise it during the three years between meetings of General Convention, and a permanent secretariat was created to administer the program. Support was to come from the whole Church, with each diocese accepting a quota proportionate to its own financial ability, as indicated by the amount raised by its parishes for current operating expenses.

Here was real achievement. In spite of occasional administrative mistakes and extravagances, the whole program of the Church was now recognized as the responsibility of the whole Church. Missionaries were to stay on the job and do the work for which they had been commissioned, with the assurance that the Church (not just a few generous individuals) would provide for their material needs. Sometimes it turned out that this provision was insufficient; the General Convention of 1925 had to deal with an embarrassing deficit; the "Depression Years," 1931-1940, brought painful reductions in the funds available for the program. But the general principle was too well established to be broken by occasional reverses, and the \$6,800,000.00 budget adopted by the General Convention of 1955 in Honolulu is firm proof that we are now really a *Church*.

New Light on Adam Cloud

By Andrew Forest Muir*

 HE essential facts about Adam Cloud (1759-1834) appear in Nash K. Burger's excellent essay, "Adam Cloud, Mississippi's First Episcopal Clergyman,"¹ but a re-examination of some of his sources provides the basis for a re-interpretation of one important aspect of Cloud's life, and a dredging of additional sources reveals new material on Cloud's wife and children and his activities in Mississippi, Georgia, and Texas.

Mr. Burger is convinced that Adam Cloud was in holy orders in the Episcopal Church, specifically the order of deacons. That he conducted services at times from the Book of Common Prayer is unquestionable, but his ordination is another matter. Mr. Burger bases his conclusion upon Cloud's acceptance as a clergyman by the Rev. James A. Fox, the listing of him as such in the *journal* of the primary convention of the diocese of Mississippi and in the General Convention *Journals* of 1826 and 1829, a reference to him by Bishop Thomas Church Brownell, the statement of his son, Dr. Samuel Grandin Cloud, and the later asseverations of Bishop William Stevens Perry and the Rev. Dr. Edward R. Hardy, Jr. Mr. Burger correctly points out that the ordination records of a number of late eighteenth century clergymen are not available, but he selected an unfortunate example, "the Rev. Veasy," whose ordination record is in existence, as noted by the editor of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.² Since the Episcopal Church requires episcopal ordination of all of its clergy and has never recognized Methodist ordination as episcopal, Mr. Burger maintains that in addition to Adam Cloud's Methodist ordination, he was ordained episcopally in the Episcopal Church, or in an episcopal church recognized by it.

There is no evidence in the minutes of the primary convention of the diocese of Mississippi that the attending clergymen were required

*Dr. Muir, a resident of Houston, Texas, has been a teacher in Hawaii, Texas, and Puerto Rico. He has contributed many valuable essays to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.—*Editor's note.*

¹*Journal of Mississippi History*, IX (April, 1947), 88-97, reprinted in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XVII (June, 1948), 164-173.

²*Ibid.*, 172n.

to produce their letters of ordination, and, anyway, Cloud was not present. Since Cloud was generally identified by the title "Reverend," was in pastoral charge of Christ Church, Church Hill, and was known to conduct services according to the liturgy of the Episcopal Church, an observer, like Fox for example, might very well have concluded that Cloud was in holy orders, although he had no positive proof of the fact. The listing by Cloud in that convention journal was sufficient grounds for the compiler of the General Convention journals to list him among the clergy of Mississippi. It is significant that Cloud was not listed as a clergyman in any Mississippi diocesan journal subsequent to that of the primary convention. The *only* reference to Cloud in any way connected with a bishop of the Episcopal Church appears in Bishop Brownell's account of his visit to Mississippi in December, 1829. At that time, Cloud was "in a very low state of health," and the bishop together with others in his party, "united in the office of the Church for the visitation of the sick." It would have been unseemly of the bishop, during a sick room call, to have demanded that Cloud produce his letter of ordination or to have quizzed the sick old man on his ecclesiastical affiliation. Considering the circumstances of the bishop's visit, one must not adduce from it any proof of Cloud's clerical standing. Neither can one prove anything from Dr. Cloud's statement that his father had "entered the ministry in the Protestant Episcopal Church." The same evidences that might have misled Fox would likewise have tended to mislead his son.⁸

Both Bishop Perry's and Dr. Hardy's statements about Adam Cloud are vitiated by their interest in maintaining the canonical regularity of the Church's activities, even on the American frontier. The fact remains that the Episcopal Church at the time was a parochial and Atlantic seaboard-bound institution, refusing to recognize, like Henry Adams in his history of Jefferson's and Madison's administration, the existence of a frontier beyond the Alleghany mountains, and if settlers in the West were to have churchly ministrations at all, they were obliged, at times, to be a bit reckless with the Church's polity.

Mr. Burger shows that Adam Cloud had some vague connection with both the Episcopal Church and an irregular Methodist sect, the

⁸To show the unreliability of the Cloud family tradition, one might cite John Wurts Cloud's son, John Wirt (*sic*) Cloud, Jr., who claimed that his father had been graduated from a medical school and was a physician, statements that appear to be untrue.—*Autobiography* (MS. in possession of his daughter, Miss Myrtle Cloud, of Austin, Texas; typescript in writer's possession).

Hammettites. In addition, there is evidence he was connected with an irregular Baptist sect. In 1807, when he was living in Savannah, Georgia, the trustees of the Primitive Baptist Church of that place contradicted in a local newspaper a report that Cloud, their pastor, had collected and converted to his own use the sum of \$1400. As a matter of fact, they pointed out, Cloud had spent \$500 of his own money on the erection of a meeting house.⁴ It probably is of some significance that although there was an Episcopal parish in Savannah at the time Cloud lived there, between about 1797 and 1808, his name never once appeared in public print as in any way connected with it.

Perhaps the best indication that Cloud was not in holy orders in the Episcopal Church is the statement of John G. Jones, who concluded his biographical sketch of Cloud with the sentence, "In our youth we knew him well."⁵ Since Jones, a Methodist minister, who knew Cloud personally, was of the opinion that he had no ordination except that of the Methodist Church, and since there is no known record of Cloud's ordination in the Episcopal Church,⁶ the evidence is fairly suggestive that he was not a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, although for a brief time during the ecclesiastically unsettled period of frontier Mississippi he was so listed. The truth of the matter appears to be that during his brief affiliation with the Episcopal Church, Cloud was a layman, a lay reader. As such he was perfectly competent to read the offices of daily morning and evening prayer, the litany, and the order for the burial of the dead. While the Episcopal Church does not delegate to laymen the authority to baptize, as does the Roman Catholic Church, still it does not hold lay baptism to be invalid, so there is no difficulty about any baptisms that he performed. Neither is there any difficulty about marriages. As a regularly ordained Methodist minister,

⁴*Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, May 16, 1807. Courtesy of Mrs. Lilla M. Hawes, director, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah. The Rev. Norman W. Cox, executive director, Southern Baptist Convention Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee, who was pastor of the First Baptist Church at Savannah from 1922 to 1927, knows nothing of any Primitive Baptist Church there before 1832.

⁵John G. Jones, *A Concise History of the Introduction of Protestantism into Mississippi and the Southwest* (St. Louis: P. M. Pinckard, 1886), 97. Jones' commentary on Cloud first appeared in the New Orleans *Christian Advocate*, April 25, 1860.

⁶The Church Pension Fund, New York, engaged for some years in ferreting out biographical material on clergy of the Episcopal Church, has turned up no evidence of Cloud's ordination. Marjorie Hillman, assistant secretary, to writer, Feb. 7, 1955.

he would have had sufficient authority in the eyes of Mississippi civil officials to solemnize valid and legal marriages. No one has suggested that Adam Cloud ever celebrated the Holy Communion according to the Book of Common Prayer, which most specifically requires ordination to the priesthood, an order nowhere claimed for Cloud.

A few facts about Cloud's family and residence in Mississippi, Georgia, and Texas remain to be detailed.

Cloud and his wife, MARY GRANDIN (1763-1833), were the parents of eight children, only two of whom survived to maturity:

HANNAH, born December 24, 1788, and died 1802-1805.

SUSANNA, born August 30, 1790, and died 1802-1805.

SAMUEL GRANDIN, born August 17, 1792, in West Florida, and died December 20, 1862, in Franklin Parish, Louisiana.

ROBERT N., born November 24, 1794, and died 1802-1805.

JOHN WURTS, born February 27, 1797, in Flanders, New Jersey, and died September 15, 1850, in Chappell Hill, Texas.

ROBERT T., born January 27, 1799, in Savannah, Georgia.

ADAM, born December 29 1802, and died October 19, 1805, in Savannah.

MARY, born April 15, 1805, and died October 10, 1805, in Savannah.⁷

In the autumn of 1793, while a resident of West Florida, Cloud purchased four slaves from Mary Palmer, of Cecil County, Maryland. Nathan, then ten, was to be emancipated at the age of thirty.⁸ A Negro woman aged forty was to serve Cloud for five years, after which she was to be freed, and her two children, Hannah, about four years old, and Bit, one year old, were both to be emancipated at the age of thirty.⁹ In due time, presumably, they were all freed. On February 7, 1794, Cloud witnessed the will of Samuel Swayne, and on September 23, 1797, that of William Scott.¹⁰ Between June, 1817, and January, 1829,

⁷Raymond Houston Wilson, *The Cloud Family* (mimeographed, Houston, 1953), 7-8, 18a; Adam Cloud to John Bowles, n.d., in [May Wilson McBee (comp.)], *The Natchez Court Records, 1767-1805 . . .* (n.p., no pub., c1953), II, 529.

⁸Deed Records of Adams County, Mississippi (MSS. in Chancery Clerk's Office, Natchez), I, 12.

⁹*Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁰J. Estelle Stewart King (comp.), *Mississippi Court Records, 1799-1835* (mimeographed, c1936), 2; [McBee (comp.)], *The Natchez Court Records*, II, 133.

Cloud solemnized fourteen marriages that are of record in Jefferson County, Mississippi.¹¹

In Savannah, Cloud was frequently listed in postoffice advertisements of unclaimed letters.¹² He solemnized there seven marriages that were noted in the newspapers,¹³ and, in 1802, he assisted the Rev. Henry Holcombe, pastor of the First Baptist Church, at the funeral of the Rev. Peter Thacher.¹⁴ In 1807, a one story house, measuring seventeen by twenty-two feet, owned by him in Columbia Ward was offered for sale,¹⁵ and later in the same year, one Merriam announced the opening of a school "at Rev. Mr. Cloud's Meeting House."¹⁶ In 1797-1798 and again in 1808, Cloud was listed as a tax delinquent.¹⁷

On March 17, 1803, while a resident of Savannah, Cloud purchased two tracts of 575 acres each in Franklin County, Georgia.¹⁸ After his return to Mississippi, he deeded, on March 20, 1816, one tract to each of his sons, John Wurts and Samuel Grandin.¹⁹ Adam Cloud's name disappears from the records in Savannah at the end of 1808, and his whereabouts between that time and 1815-1816, when he reappeared in Mississippi, are unknown; he might, though, have been in Newport, Liberty County, Georgia, as he had been in 1805.²⁰

During his residence in Savannah, Cloud was a Freemason, but he was not a member of Solomon's Lodge No. 1 F. & A. M., which he visited on a number of occasions. The records of that lodge show that he was a visitor at meetings on March 6, 10, and 11, 1800, March 28, June 2 and 19, September 22, 1801, July 5, 1802, January 3 and Febru-

¹¹Marriage Records of Jefferson County, Mississippi (MSS. in Chancery Clerk's Office, Fayette), A, 124, 128, 130, 131, 151, 153, 159, 171, 178, 197, 221; B, 23.

¹²*Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, July 3, Oct. 5, 1798, Apr. 5, 1799, Apr. 6, 1802, Jan. 3, Oct. 9, 1807, Jan. 3, 1811; *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), Oct. 11, 1798, July 4, 1799, Oct. 2, 1800; *Georgia Republican and State Intelligencer* (Savannah), Mar. 7, Oct. 18, 1803; *Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, Apr. 2, 1808.

¹³*Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, July 8, 1800, July 12, 1806, July 31, 1807, Jan. 5, Feb. 19, 1808; *Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, June 9, 1807, Feb. 13, 1808.

¹⁴*Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, Dec. 21, 1802.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, Jan. 3, 1807.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, July 10, 1807.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1798; *Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, Nov. 5, 1808.

¹⁸Deed Records of Franklin County, Georgia (MSS. in Department of Archives and History, Atlanta), vol. 000, p. 4. Courtesy of Mrs. Mary G. Bryan, director.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, vol. HH, pp. 65-66.

²⁰Adam Cloud to John Bowles, n.d., in [McBee (comp.)], *The Natchez Court Records*, II, 529.

ary 27, 1805. Also, he delivered sermons before the lodge at the celebrations of the Feast of St. John the Evangelist in 1799-1802, and before the Grand Lodge of Georgia, F. & A. M., in 1807-1808. He was elected grand chaplain of the Grand Lodge early in December, 1808.²¹ After his return to Mississippi, Cloud continued his Masonic activities. He was worshipful master of Warren Lodge, U. D., at Greenville, Jefferson County, in 1820, and attended the Third Annual Communication of the Grand Lodge of Mississippi, A. F. & A. M., in Natchez on January 1, 1821, when his lodge was chartered as No. 4. His name disappeared from the lodge rosters after 1823.²²

John Wurts Cloud, who appears to have moved to Texas in the spring of 1831,²³ arranged for his father's admission into Texas as one of Stephen F. Austin's colonists.²⁴ It was not, however, until April, 1833, that Adam Cloud arrived in Texas.²⁵ He appears to have gone there alone, for his wife died in Mississippi on June 20, 1833,²⁶ and his nine slaves did not arrive until February 1834.²⁷ In Texas he lived with John Wurts at his house on Oyster Creek, across the Brazos River from Brazoria, and despite his age, he operated John Wurts'

²¹Minutes of Solomon's Lodge No. 1, F. & A. M., Savannah, Georgia, courtesy of Mr. Gerald L. Storey, member, historical committee; *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, Dec. 31, 1799, Dec. 22, 1807, Dec. 6 and 23, 1808; *Georgia Gazette*, Jan. 1, Dec. 31, 1801; *Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, Dec. 8, 1808.

²²*Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Mississippi, Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons, from its Organization, July 27th, 5818, to include the Communication Held in the Year 5852, Compiled from the "Extracts from the Proceedings"* (Jackson: Clarion Steam Printing Establishment, 1882), 21, courtesy of Miss Charlotte Capers, director, Department of Archives and History, Jackson; Sid F. Curtis, grand secretary, Grand Lodge of Mississippi, F. & A. M., Meridan, to writer, Jan. 3, 1955.

²³Answer of John W. Cloud in William R. Smith vs. John W. Cloud, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court (MSS. in District Clerk's Office, Angleton, Texas), file 944. See also, answers of Elisha Maxey, Nov. 29, 1848, to cross-interrogatories propounded by Robert C. Campbell and A. P. Thompson, attorneys for F. J. Calvit, in F. J. Calvit vs. James Walker, guardian of Adam Erastus Cloud, minor, Civil Case Papers of Harris County District Court (MSS. in District Clerk's Office, Houston, Texas), file 1844.

²⁴Certificado de Estevan F. Austin, San Felipe de Austin, 18 de septiembre 1831, and Austin á S[eñ]or. Com[an]d[an]te. de la guardia en la embocadura de los Brazos, Brazoria, 29 de diciembre 1831, in Paul R. and Guy Cloud Stalnaker Collection (MSS. in San Jacinto Museum of History, San Jacinto Monument, Texas).

²⁵Petition of John Wurts Cloud, June 28, 1847, in John W. Cloud vs. State of Texas, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 1331.

²⁶Wilson, *The Cloud Family*, addenda to section b.

²⁷Petition of John Wurts Cloud in John W. Cloud vs. State of Texas.

farm. One of his neighbors later testified that Adam Cloud's circumstances were then good. In May, 1834, he was abed with chills and fevers, and on May 24, he had John Wurts call in three neighbors to witness a deed of gift of eight slaves to John Wurts' son, Adam Erastus. John Wurts was obliged to guide the old man's hand as he signed the instrument, but Cloud himself delivered each slave to his grandson.²⁸ Two days later he died.²⁹

²⁸Adam Cloud to Adam Erastus Cloud, May 24, 1834, in James Walker, guardian, Adam E. Cloud, vs. Frederick J. Calvit, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 1425; recorded in Deed Records of Harris County (MSS. in County Clerk's Office, Houston), 18; answers of Elisha Maxey to cross-interrogatories.

²⁹Petition of John W. Cloud, Mar. 31, 1837, in Estate of Adam Cloud, deceased, Probate Case Papers of Brazoria County (MSS. in County Clerk's Office, Angleton), file 97.

A Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Salute from a Woman Scholar!

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May 8, 1956.

Dear Dr. Stowe:

The Compton study in the March number was long overdue but worth waiting for. Professor Brown should be commended for his work, and you and the *Magazine* should be praised for providing a place for the publication of such material. (I also detect the fine hand of J. Harry Bennett, Jr.)

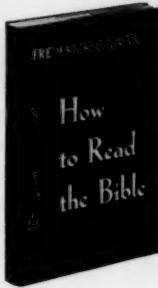
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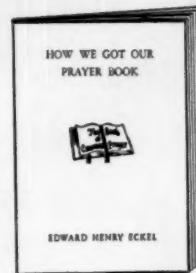
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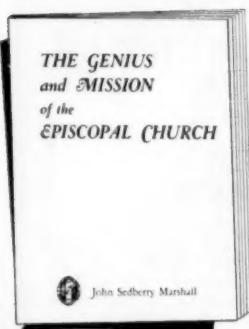
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